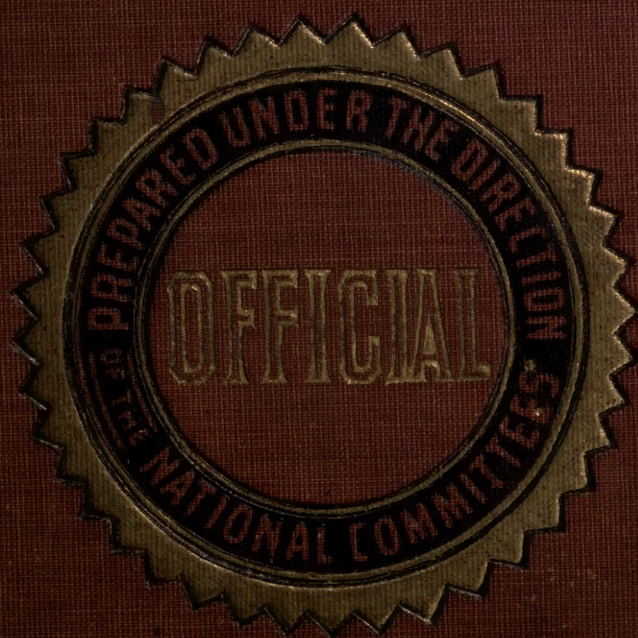


THE
BATTLE
OF
1900



Issues and Platforms

★★OF ALL PARTIES★★

PORTRAITS★ 

★AND BIOGRAPHIES★

★★★OF ALL LEADERS



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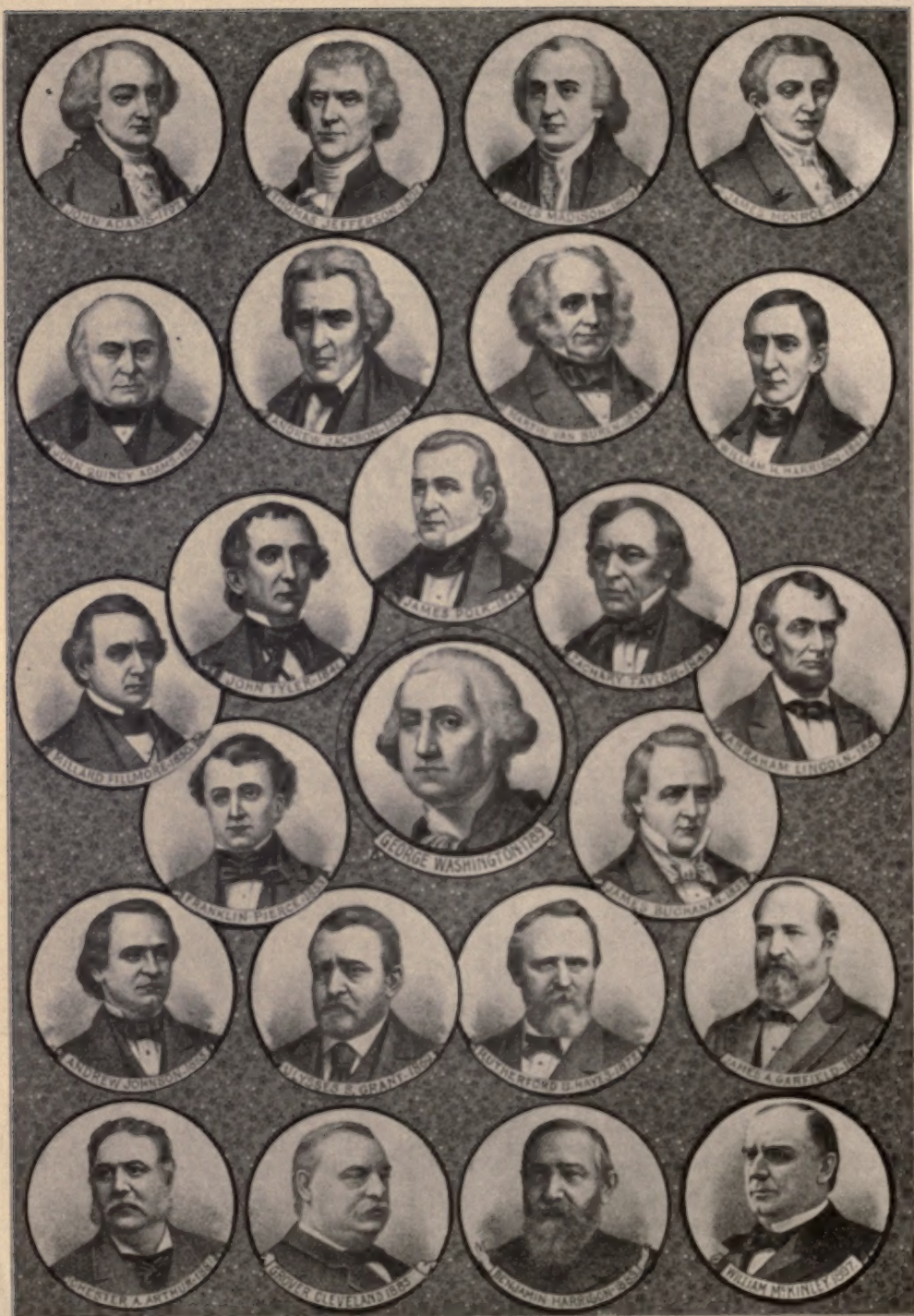
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by

His Son and Daughter

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OUR PRESIDENTS

THE BATTLE OF 1900

AN

OFFICIAL HAND-BOOK FOR
EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN

ISSUES AND PLATFORMS OF ALL PARTIES

WITH

PORTRAITS AND BIOGRAPHIES OF THE LEADERS

INCLUDING

THE LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

REPUBLICAN ISSUES

BY

L. WHITE BUSBEY

PROHIBITION ISSUES

BY

OLIVER W. STEWART

DEMOCRATIC ISSUES

BY

WILLIS J. ABBOT

POPULIST ISSUES

BY

DR. HOWARD S. TAYLOR

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

One hopeful sign in the political horizon of to-day is the fact that the intense party fealty of a decade ago is yielding to the force of reason and argument, that States within the Union which but a few years ago could be counted in advance as "solid" for some Presidential candidate, are now considered "doubtful" until the people have registered their choice and the votes are counted. The demagogue who would lead his party to-day by appeals to passion and to party loyalty must give way to the political speaker who deals with basic principles, undisputed facts and living issues. No party can rightly assume to itself all the virtues of our political fabric. It is equally true that the evils of politics and the mistakes of legislators are the common heritage of all the parties that have been entrusted with power.

Political parties in any country where popular government prevails are a necessity. Freedom of speech and freedom of press emphasize differences of opinion, and men naturally take sides upon present issues and array themselves against each other in healthful and intellectual, but bloodless, combat. While this discussion of questions of the day prevails, loyal, intelligent voters, regardless of past party affiliations, will draw their own conclusions and cast their ballots for such men and for such measures as will in their opinion enhance the real interests of the land all parties love, and preserve unblemished the flag for which all loyal Americans, irrespective of party, stand ready, if need be, to die.

It is this patriotic spirit that has made men read and study and think and investigate for themselves, and if this has led to a change of convictions it was a good change and an honest change, regardless of the party affected. In this spirit of patriotism lies the real reason for the independent voter, the real power in politics to-day, and the force which all parties seek to direct by a careful, unbiased, able presentation of the issues of the pending campaign.

It is our country's proud record that in any emergency the judgment and intelligence of her people can be trusted. The great, liberty-loving heart of American citizenship is in the right place and can be depended

upon to direct the life currents of the body politic aright. It is to that heart, throbbing with patriotic impulse and with intelligent interest in our country's welfare that these pages are directed with the conviction that they will diffuse valuable information upon the disputed questions of "The Battle of 1900."

In the preparation of this book, it has been our aim as publishers to present a volume that should bear the stamp of authenticity, that should ably and fairly discuss the issues which divide the people, that should contain the most potent arguments to be adduced in behalf of all parties and their policies, that should appeal to all political leaders as a work worthy of approval and endorsement, that should enable the great army of voters to study the issues of to-day in an intelligent manner and cast their ballots in the light of their own best judgment, that should have a value extending beyond the few short months of the campaign.

We believe *The Battle of 1900* meets fully its purpose. In authorship we have sought and secured writers who command respect. They are men of influence in the councils of their respective parties and "speak as those having authority;" they are thoroughly posted upon the matters of which they write; they are men whose patriotism, intelligence and knowledge cannot be questioned; they each and all possess marked literary ability and are trained in the art of writing; they are in close touch with the people and present the issues of the day ably, honestly and fearlessly, content after the smoke of battle has passed away to abide by the decision of the real arbiters, the intelligent voters of our beloved America.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

A REVIEW OF ITS PAST RECORD AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR NOW.

THE ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN FULLY SET FORTH

WITH

THE LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, WILLIAM MCKINLEY
AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

BY

L. WHITE BUSBEY.

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INTRODUCTION.

The campaign of this year is of unusual importance. The issues are as serious as any that have been presented to the American people since the close of the civil war. They involve not only domestic questions of great importance but also questions as to the relations of this government to the rest of the world. On the result of the next national election may hang the future of this government. We have again come to the parting of the ways and must choose our course, whether it shall be expansion or contraction. The American voters must decide whether they will stand by the verdict of the war with Spain and the treaty of peace or abandon both. They must decide whether they will go forward or retrace their steps. They must decide whether they will retain the Philippines or throw them, an apple of discord, before the nations of Europe to produce, possibly, a general war involving the civilized world and finally dragging this nation into it. They must decide whether they want the nation to protect its growing markets in the far East or abandon them. These are serious questions.

The voters must decide whether they will uphold the verdict of four years ago, in favor of honest money which will be recognized the world over as good for its face value, or overturn that verdict and adopt a debased silver currency. They must decide what is to be the standard of value in this country,—gold or silver. The issue is made and now only the voters can decide. They must decide whether they want to continue the prosperity which has smiled upon them during this administration or go back to the uncertainty of a revolution in the political control and economic policy of the government.

These questions are important and call for serious consideration by every man who will go to the polls and vote his judgment and preference in November. It has been the boast of the American people that they are freest and most independent and most enlightened in the world. This has not been an idle boast. It has been accepted as true by the civilized world. There is no other country where suffrage is so free and universal as in the United States. The words of Lincoln are true. This is "a government of the people, for the people and by the people." The voters make the government. It is theirs. They can by the will of the majority decide every question at issue in this campaign.

They have the power to uphold or defeat the present administration, to sustain or undo everything it has done.

Our elections were never so free as now. With the Australian ballot system in nearly every state, every voter has his suffrage free from dictation by any other man, or set of men. On election day every man is master. He can and should do as his judgment wills. He has the privilege and the duty and he also has the responsibility. Every man owes it to himself and his fellows to consider and understand what he would have the government do in the next four years before he casts his vote. This volume is presented with the honest purpose of assisting the voters to an understanding of the Republican side of these issues, by giving their history and the purposes behind them. The attempt has been to go to the record and judge the future by the past. Neither men nor parties can stand on their record of past work alone, but their record is the best indication of their ability and readiness to carry out promises. Both great political parties have a record. The Republican party has for its record the political control of the government through its period of greatest moral and material development. The conscience of the American people has been awakened to the iniquity of slavery and polygamy, twin relics of barbarism, and these have been wiped off the page of American history since the Republican party came into control of the government. There has been more recognition given to the rights of the individual man by legislation in the past forty years than in any other period of our history. There has also been more attention given to the material upbuilding of the American people in this period than in any other. This record may not belong to the Republican party alone, but it was made under Republican administration and that party has a right to be judged by it.

In considering the issues of this campaign it is important to consider the practical as well as the sentimental side of every question. The Republican record is one of practical achievement, not alone of sentimental protest. The party has considered the practical way of securing results. In this it has followed the example of the Fathers of the Republic. Phrases are not always the best definition of great principles. Some of the men who wrote the Declaration of Independence in which they declared that all men are created free and equal, owned slaves, and Jefferson, the author of the Constitution, held slaves. This fact did not destroy the force of the famous declaration, but it does de-

tract from the use of these phrases in argument against the practical control of great questions thrust upon the government. The record of accomplishment in the line of general principles is a better criterion than the phrases of men or parties.

In presenting the Republican side of the issues of this campaign the writer has therefore gone to the record of results as better guidance for the honest voter, than to the declarations which have been made. Phrase making is as easy as lying. The nation has marched forward under Republican control until it stands to-day in the front rank of the world powers. It stands first in its record of development in industrial, financial, military and moral achievements. It stands first in the contest for industrial development, able to hold its own in the markets of the world. It stands first in its financial achievements in raising loans from its own people, and in selling the lowest interest-bearing bonds at par. It stands first in its military achievements and without a standing army. Its militarism is patriotism, and it has its illustration in the achievements of American patriots from Bunker Hill to Yorktown; from Fort Sumter to Appomattox; from Santiago to Manila Bay; and from Manila to Tien-Tsin. These are all the achievements of a citizen soldiery, the only militarism ever known under the United States flag. There never has been a standing army that equaled one soldier to one thousand inhabitants, and there never has been an army fighting under the American flag for a selfish purpose. Our appeals to arms have been in the cause of great moral and human principles. It is well for the voter to go to the record rather than to the catch phrase, invented to create sectional and partisan hatred in such matters.

The campaign now begun is on great principles of government control—issues that affect every man in every walk of life. The issues in the campaign should therefore be considered in calm judgment and not in partisan passion. A campaign book for all the voters of the country should therefore be a calm and dispassionate discussion of these issues. The writer of the following pages has sought to follow this rule, and while discussing the issues of the campaign, recognize that he is writing for Democrat and Populist readers as well as Republicans. It is easier to follow this rule in this campaign than it would have been in some of the preceding national campaigns for two reasons: First, the issues are partisan only in the principles which the different parties have embodied in their platform, and Republicans, Democrats, and Pop-

ulists in the past will at the coming election vote as they believe in these principles, rather than because they are bound by partisanship to follow the party flag they have followed in the past. Second, because the Republican candidate, President McKinley, has in all his public life followed this rule of discussing principles rather than men. He has never uttered a word of partisan hatred in all his public expressions and in his social life has held men of all parties as his most devoted personal friends. His life has been given to public affairs with such devotion to what he believed to be the best interests of the whole people, that he has always been invulnerable against personal attack and freer from personal criticism than any other man in public life. The record of Mr. Roosevelt, the Republican candidate for Vice-President, has been one of work almost wholly beyond partisan lines, and without partisan hatred. With these two men as leaders, and the platform on which they stand in this campaign, it is more appropriate and a more pleasant task to follow their example and discuss the issues before the people, without passion or partisanship in its narrow sense.

The writer has sought to appeal to reason without rhetoric.

Washington, D. C., Aug. 1.

L. W. B.

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CHAPTER I.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—THE PARTY OF PATRIOTIC PRINCIPLES, NOT HYSTERICAL IMPULSES

The Republican party is to-day as it has been for forty years the party of sturdy American principles, progressive and conservative, accomplishing what it advocated and advocating what it believed to be the best ideals of government for a great people loving liberty and restrained by a national conscience. It has not been influenced by hysterical impulse, but has for years resisted that tendency in its own ranks and withstood it in the assaults of its opponents. It has triumphed over other parties since its organization because of its courage to fight for the principles which were formulated by the conscience of the people without regard to party affiliations, and at the same time it has been governed by a conservatism which checked revolutionary tendencies.

The Republican party had its origin not in revolutionary doctrine, but in the sober judgment of the people of the North that compromise with slavery was no longer possible in the development of the great territory of the West which was soon to be organized into States and have an equal part in the Union. It was in accord with the scriptural truth that a house divided against itself could not stand—that the nation could not live part slave and part free.

The first Republican President was a man of the people coming from the West where the strains of the Puritan and the cavalier met to form the best type of American independence. All the Republican Presidents have come from that same great section of the country, the Mississippi Valley, the newer New England, which has become the center of political thought as well as the center of population.

The record of the Republican party is written in the amendments of the Constitution, and in the Statutes, but it is also written in the most remarkable period of development of the United States. This record is also written in the position this government now holds among the great powers of the world. Its record is one of sturdy Americanism, good business management and wise diplomacy. What more can be asked of a political party inviting the support of the voters of the country?

The Republican party was organized at a time when the slavery question as applying to the new territories had been reopened by the practical nullification of the Missouri Compromise, which had been accepted as having made free soil forever of the territory west of the Mississippi river except in that portion which was to constitute the State of Arkansas. The effort of the Democrats in Congress to nullify the Missouri Compromise and leave Kansas and Nebraska open to slavery brought about a new alignment in politics and a new political party. There was a free soil movement all over the North. It was divided and without force until a delegate convention met in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in February, 1856, and organized the Republican party. All free soil parties were invited to join the new national party, and the name was adopted, as Horace Greeley said, "almost spontaneously." The Pittsburg convention set forth a long and able exposition of the principles and purposes of the Republican party and called a national convention to meet in Philadelphia, June 18 of the same year, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. All who deprecated the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and favored Congressional control of the Territories were invited to send delegates, but only Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky of the slave States were represented in this new convention.

Into the Republican party went the body of free soilers, among whose leaders were Charles Sumner, Salmon P. Chase, Frank P. Blair and Charles Francis Adams; the anti-slavery whigs among whom were Horace Greeley, Thaddeus Stevens, Abraham Lincoln, William F. Seward and Fessenden. Many of the know-nothings, like Banks, Colfax and Henry Winter Davis, won, as time passed by, the anti-slavery people of the party policy; some of the original abolitionists, like Giddings, Garrison and Wendell Philipps, though these were not nominally of the party and only active with it to spur it on to new aggression against slavery. Others came directly from the Democratic party and did much to win popularity for the new organization. Among these were Gideon Welles of Connecticut, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Hamlin of Maine, Trumbull of Illinois, Montgomery Blair of Missouri, and William C. Bryan of New York. Only earnestness of conviction and true devotion to principle could have united in one effective organization so many divers elements.

The platform of the Philadelphia convention declared the party

opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to slavery extension and to the rejection of the appeal of Kansas for admission as a free State; while it favored internal improvement, ignored the tariff and called upon Congress to exercise its sovereign power over national territory by prohibiting in the Territories "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton were nominated for President and Vice-President, and the party cry for the campaign was: "Free soil, free speech, free men and Fremont."

Although the Republican party was not successful in that first year of its organization in electing its candidates, it was successful in spreading broadcast throughout the land the new principles of government which were to be put into practice four years later. It was but the beginning of the building of the country advancing its civilization, the introduction of new industries and protection to the wage-earner. At that election over 4,000,000 votes were cast, being an increase of about 30 per cent over the election in 1852. For the first time in many years a Democratic President was elected by a minority of the total popular vote. While James Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, received 1,838,160 votes, the opposition vote represented 2,215,768. The Republican party cast 1,341,234 votes and gave to Fremont 114 electoral votes. Of the sixteen free States, only California, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey and Pennsylvania remained Democratic, and of these the combined opposition was greater than the Democratic vote in California in Illinois and in New Jersey.

In the next four years the Republican party gathered strength, and in 1860 elected Abraham Lincoln President of the United States. The history of the party from March 4, 1861, until the present time is the history of the country. There is not a line of affirmative legislation on the statute books to-day on which has not been placed the stamp of the Republican party. Old laws have been remodeled and revised to suit the new order of development, and new legislation has been enacted to give force and practicability to the principles of government laid down by this party. For forty years it has had control of the government except for four years during the last Cleveland administration, when the Democratic party again came into full power and succeeded in enacting the Wilson tariff law and repealing the Federal election law. These two acts constitute the national work of the Democratic party in that short period of power and in the last half century. The Wilson law

was so destructive to the business interests of this country that its repeal was demanded in the overwhelming majorities given to President McKinley, and it was soon succeeded by the Dingley law after the McKinley administration began. The repeal of the Federal election law is therefore the only act of the Democratic party in the last forty years that has not been undone.

The first platform of the Republican party favored internal improvements, the prohibition of slavery and polygamy in the Territories and free Kansas. The second platform adopted in 1860 reversed the policy of the Democrats not only as to the slavery question, but as to the policy it had generally maintained on the constitutional right to make internal improvements at the expense of the National Treasury. It laid down in that second platform principles of government which have guided it ever since, and assisted it in fostering and encouraging the most wonderful development that this country has ever known in the same period of time. It demanded not only that the support of the government should be largely from duties upon imports, but also that these duties should be so imposed as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country. It took up the cause of labor and demanded a policy of national exchanges which secured to the workingman liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanic and manufacturer an adequate reward for their skill, labor and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence. It also protested against the sale or alienation of public land except to actual settlers, and demanded the passage by Congress of a complete and satisfactory homestead measure. It insisted that river and harbor improvements of a national character were required for the accommodation and security of commerce, and were authorized by the constitution. It demanded that a railroad to the Pacific ocean should be built for the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal government should render immediate and efficient aid in its construction. In that platform the Republican party mapped out a stupendous program changing the whole character of legislation and in fact nationalizing the government for the first time in its history. It was a new party without experience in national affairs and its platform was regarded as one of mere theories, but that party has carried out to the letter every principle laid down in the platform on which Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States. The Republican party found labor in the

North wandering in rags upon the public streets, and in the South receiving its wages in lashings upon the naked back and in chains. It has lifted all labor to prosperity and independence, and increased the wages of the laboring man by protecting the product of his labor from competition abroad. It found a bank note currency so incoherent and worthless that everybody was in despair. The money was so bad that the people named it after the color of their dogs, and the only reason that all business was not done with bogus money was that most of the bank notes in use were so worthless that there was nothing to be made by counterfeiting them. This has been changed, until to-day the United States has all its money as good as gold and equal to the best money in the world. In fact American money is at a premium now in nearly every country in the world. It has, through wise and liberal homestead laws, changed the great plains of the West from the herding ground of the buffalo into the greatest food producing section of the world. It has built up ten great States in that section of the country which was when it succeeded to power regarded as a wild and profitless country given over to the Indian and the buffalo. It has built trans-continental railroads from the Mississippi River to the Pacific ocean, and it has improved the rivers and harbors of the whole country in the interest of commerce. The Republican party has done these things to glorify the nation and to unite the people into a harmonious and compact union with common interest.

The Lincoln administration was confronted with secession, armed rebellion and assault upon the national flag and national authority in its beginning, and was by force of circumstances compelled to ignore all ordinary affairs of government and put forth every exertion to save the country from disunion and the nation from destruction. Thousands upon thousands of Democrats came to the aid of the President, but the Democratic party was hostile and sought only to embarrass him. President Lincoln raised the greatest armies ever assembled in this country, fought the greatest war of history to a successful conclusion, defeated secession, emancipated seven millions of slaves and saved the Union all free. A Republican Congress raised revenues for the war by authorizing loans and by passing a tariff bill, passed a homestead law, and a national banking law. The Peace Democrats continued to denounce the war, and in their national convention in 1864 declared the war a failure.

With the war still the overshadowing issue in 1864, the Republican

convention in its platform demanded the unconditional surrender of the rebellious forces, the integrity of the whole union and the abandonment of slavery. But it did not in the extremity of this nation forget its obligations to other Republican governments on the American continent. The convention approved the position taken by the government "that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or supplant by fraud, the institutions of any Republican government on the Western continent;" and it resolved that "they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchial governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States." In taking that firm position regarding the efforts of European powers to place Maximilian on the throne in Mexico, the party saved the sister Republic to the South. President Lincoln was renominated, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was nominated for Vice-President. The party had a signal triumph at the polls, and Lincoln was re-elected by an overwhelming majority. He had 212 electoral votes with only 21 for George B. McClellan, the Democratic candidate. The popular vote stood: Republican, 2,216,067; Democratic, 1,808,725.

President Lincoln was assassinated the night of April 14, 1865, less than six weeks after his second inauguration, and Andrew Johnson succeeded to the Presidency. Mr. Johnson was a constitutional strict constructionist of the Tyler pattern, with the extreme principles of the old-time Democracy canonized in his breast. He was in conflict with his party almost from the beginning of his administration, and the conflict resulted in his impeachment, which failed in the Senate by want of the two-thirds vote necessary. The 13th amendment of the Constitution had been adopted just at the close of President Lincoln's first term, and the 14th amendment, giving citizenship to the unfranchised race, was adopted in 1866. It was opposed by President Johnson, and he refused to sign it, but submitted it to the States and it was ratified by them. Reconstruction under such conditions of hostility between the President and his party was slow, and attended with many trials and failures.

The Republican party next turned to the great soldier of the Union, General U. S. Grant, and in the convention of 1868 nominated him for President, with Schuyler Colfax of Indiana as the candidate for Vice-President. Horatio Seymour of New York was the Democratic candi-

date, with Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri for Vice-President. The platform of the Republican party was dictated by the exigencies of the reconstruction difficulties and declared its unwavering resolution to secure suffrage for the liberated slave, and to carry out the principles already begun by the former administration as to restoration. The platform also denounced all forms of repudiation as a national crime, and declared that the national honor required the payment of the public debt in the utmost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted.

General Grant was elected by a greater majority than Lincoln had received at his last election. In the electoral college, Grant had 214 votes and Seymour 80. The popular vote stood: Grant, 3,015,071; Seymour, 2,709,613.

In Grant's first administration the Fifteenth amendment to the Constitution was adopted, giving the right of suffrage to all citizens without distinction of "race, color or previous condition of servitude;" the notorious Ku Klux bands in the South were suppressed; the work of reconstruction practically completed by the readmission of the Southern States that had seceded; the Alabama claims of the United States against Great Britain, arising out of the depredations of the Anglo-rebel privateers, were settled; the Federal election law, or "Force Bill" as the Democrats called it, was passed; the amnesty bill adopted, reviewing the political disabilities of those who had been in rebellion; and the first civil service law was passed; and in 1872 President Grant was re-nominated by acclamation by the Republican National Convention which met in Philadelphia. Henry Wilson was nominated for Vice-President. The platform recited the glorious achievements of the party in its eleven years of administration, and insisted on no abatement in the Republican party's vigorous reconstruction policy. Those Republicans who deserted the party and formed the Liberal Republican organization nominated Horace Greeley for President and B. Gratz Brown for Vice-President, and the Democrats endorsed this ticket. Grant's popular vote was 3,597,070, and Greeley's 2,834,079. Greeley died of a broken heart within the month after the election, and the Democratic electors cast their votes for Thomas A. Hendricks and B. Gratz Brown, with scattering votes for other candidates, but President Grant had

the largest electoral vote ever given a presidential candidate up to that time, his vote being 286.

The Republican party did not leave its scandals to be unearthed and investigated by its opponents, but took vigorous hold upon them itself, and investigated the Credit Mobilier scandal, the Whisky Ring and the other scandals growing out of this and former administrations, and purified its own ranks.

In 1876 there was a spirited contest for the Republican nomination for President, with Blaine, Conkling, Bristow, Morton and Hayes as the leading candidates. The convention met in Cincinnati June 14, and on the seventh ballot Rutherford B. Hayes, then Governor of Ohio, was nominated. William A. Wheeler of New York was nominated for Vice-President. The platform confirmed the party belief in the transcendent power of the Constitution over the States, declaring that "the United States is a nation, not a league." It also advocated a tariff sufficient to meet the future expenses of the general government, and claimed the right of Congress to suppress polygamy in the Territories. On this platform General Hayes was elected President. He carried all the Northern States except Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Indiana. The Democrats carried all the Southern States except South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana. These States were also claimed by the Democrats, and the result was reached through the Electoral Commission, created by Congress. The electoral vote as decided by the commission was as follows: Hayes, 185; Tilden, 184. The popular majority was against the Republicans. There was a Democratic House, and that branch of Congress sought to coerce the Senate and the President to repeal the Federal election laws by refusing to pass appropriation bills without this repeal as a rider. The Republicans stood firm and succeeded in an extra session of Congress in passing the necessary appropriation bills without riders. The resumption of specie payment was made under the Hayes administration, and on December 17, 1879, gold sold at par in New York. It was first sold at a premium January 13, 1862, and it reached its highest rate, \$2.85, on July 11, 1864.

The campaign of 1880 for the Republican nomination was the greatest political battle ever fought in this country. The contest between the followers of General Grant and those who were opposed to a third term was bitter and stubborn. After thirty-five ballots in the convention the followers of Blaine and Sherman united on General Garfield, and he was

nominated on the thirty-sixth ballot. Chester A. Arthur was nominated for Vice-President. The platform advocated a tariff favorable to American artisans; discriminated between national and State power in favor of the former; advocated public improvements and opposed polygamy and Chinese immigration. General Garfield was elected, receiving 214 votes in the electoral college to 155 for General Hancock. The popular vote stood: Garfield, 4,454,416; Hancock, 4,444,952. President Garfield was shot by Charles J. Guiteau on July 2, 1881, and died September 19. Chester A. Arthur succeeded him as President, and conducted the administration safely through the term. The Edmunds anti-polygamy bill was passed, and signed by President Arthur, March 23, 1882. The anti-Chinese bill became a law in the same year; the civil service law was amended; and the policy of chaining closer together all the American Republics was begun. President Arthur began his administration facing greater embarrassments than any President of the United States, and overcame them in a way to surprise his friends and political opponents.

James G. Blaine and John A. Logan were the Republican candidates for President and Vice-President in 1884. The platform demanded the imposition of such duties on foreign imports to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to correct irregularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus; urged the effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage; and demanded the restoration of the money to its old-time strength and efficiency. Blaine was defeated and Grover Cleveland became President.

In 1888 Benjamin Harrison was nominated for President and Levi P. Morton of New York for Vice-President, by the Republican convention which met in Chicago. The platform reaffirmed the American doctrine of protection. It demanded the freedom of the ballot, and declared its opposition to trusts. This was the first political platform to denounce trusts and other combinations of capital to control arbitrarily the conditions of trade.

The Republican ticket was elected, Harrison receiving 233 electoral votes and Cleveland 168. There was a Republican Senate and House and the administration of President Harrison was noted for the passage of the McKinley tariff law, the Sherman anti-trust law, the firm foreign

policy maintained, and also for the firmness of Speaker Reed in ruling the House of Representatives so as to allow a majority to do business rather than have the House controlled by the minority.

The Harrison administration was accompanied by great prosperity in every department of trade and industry, and was called the golden era of prosperity. President Harrison was defeated for re-election in 1892, and the Democrats repealed the McKinley law, substituting for it the Wilson tariff law. They also repealed the Federal election law. The Cleveland administration was attended with commercial disaster throughout the country, and the Republicans again turned to William McKinley, the author of the McKinley tariff law, as the "advance agent of prosperity." He was nominated at St. Louis in 1896, and the platform condemned the tariff act passed by the 53d Congress and favored protection. It opposed the free coinage of silver and favored the "existing gold standard." President McKinley was elected by the largest popular vote ever given to a candidate. His administration has redeemed all Republican pledges made in his platform. He called an extra session of Congress within ten days after his inauguration and within three months the Dingley bill had been enacted and signed. Cuba was freed from the cruel domination of Spain. A foreign war was fought for humanity and new glories added the army and navy; and the Philippines and Porto Rico were ceded to the United States. The gold standard was fixed by law.

The Republican party has in forty years made this a nation and not a confederation of States, and at the beginning of the twentieth century it is to demonstrate anew that this government possesses national power and that Congress has the power to legislate for all American territory.

CHAPTER II.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM McKINLEY—CAREER OF AN ILLUSTRIOUS SOLDIER AND STATESMAN—THE WAR PRESIDENT

William McKinley brought to the Presidency not only tried ability and ripe experience as a statesman, but the tact to manage men and bring his party into perfect harmony on all issues it had to meet, and also the party of the opposition on the great war issues which had to be settled by his administration. When it is remembered that in the past there has never been a war without "a peace party," the success of President McKinley in bringing to his support the unanimous vote of Congress and the enthusiastic approval of all sections of the country, the tact of the man is made conspicuous. And this is no insignificant quality in an executive of the nation. There have been Presidents whose ability was universally acknowledged, whose courage was beyond question, whose experience was great, but whose want of the tact to manage men and draw about them the enthusiastic support of those who represented the co-ordinate branches of the government has hampered their efforts to wisely govern and secure the best results for their administrations.

President McKinley's success in bringing all branches of the government and all parties to his support on critical issues has been unprecedented. He has united the co-ordinate branches of the government in a harmonious purpose as never did any of his predecessors. He has deferred to Congress and Congress has come to his support until it has become an axiom that the great popular branch of the government has looked to the President as the leader in all national and international policies. It might be said that Congress has during this administration been the Cabinet of the President, so little has been the friction between these two co-ordinate branches of the government.

William McKinley came to the office of President as a man of the people, with a larger personal following than any man who had been elected to the office since Washington. Few public men ever enjoyed the confidence and enthusiastic admiration of the American people as did he, and they failed in their ambition. He has through all the trying period of war and the controversies over the fruits of the war, retained this

confidence of the masses to such a degree that the leaders of the opposition parties have hesitated to attack him or even criticise his conduct as the Executive. They have accorded to him the greatest praise as a patriotic and loyal leader of the people, and for the first time in many years men of all parties in Congress have consulted freely with the President and have been invited into his councils where questions of the general public welfare were considered. The tact of William McKinley has been one of the distinguishing features of his whole public career, and it has been as forceful in the White House as the Executive of the nation as it was in Congress as the Champion of Protection, in Ohio as the Republican leader, and in great national campaigns where he was the idol of the people.

William McKinley was born on January 29, 1843, at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, where his father was interested in one of the early iron furnaces of that section. His boyhood was spent among the laborers in that field and his natural education was along the lines of protection to American labor. He was educated in the common schools of his native village and at the Poland Academy. In 1860, at the age of seventeen, he entered Allegheny College, but taken sick early in the term, he returned home and that winter taught a country school. His duties ended in 1861, and it was his intention to return to Allegheny College in the fall, but just about the time his country school closed, secession reared its head in the South and sought to dismember the Union. Armed treason stalked through the South and the American flag over Fort Sumter was fired upon. Abraham Lincoln called for soldiers to defend the Union and the flag. Ohio's response was a ready one. In June the 23rd regiment of Ohio volunteers was organized at Columbus. Its first Colonel was William S. Rosecrans, afterward Major-General and commander of the Department of the Cumberland. Its Lieutenant-Colonel was Stanley Matthews, who became afterwards United States Senator and later Justice of the Supreme Court. Its Major was Ruth-erford B. Hayes, thrice elected Governor of Ohio and then President of the United States. There marched in the ranks of Co. E as a private soldier, William McKinley, the young school-teacher of Niles, Ohio. This regiment was hurriedly mustered in and sent to West Virginia. For fourteen months private William McKinley served in the ranks, one of the hundreds of thousands who marched and fought and made major-generals famous. They saved the Union. William McKinley

performed every duty of a private soldier. He shouldered the musket and carried the knapsack, and in camp and on the march, on picket and in battle, he bore his part. It was said of Napoleon's soldiers that they were invincible because "each man carried in his knapsack the baton of a marshal of France" and fought to win it. William McKinley carried in his knapsack the scepter of civic power swayed by the President of the United States. In war he not only learned the stern duties of obeying the commands of superior officers, but he also learned to study men in that great school. Recently in speaking of his army experiences President McKinley said: "I always look back with pleasure upon those fourteen months in which I served in the ranks. They taught me a great deal. I was but a school boy when I went into the army and that first year was a formative period of my life, during which I learned much of men and affairs. I have always been glad that I entered the service as a private and served those months in that capacity."

It was a stern school and the war taught our soldiers other lessons than those of marching and fighting. It taught them self-reliance, quick perception, and ready action in cases of emergency. Private McKinley saw his first battle when Rosecrans defeated the rebel Floyd at Carnifex Ferry. After the West Virginia campaign his regiment joined the army of the Potomac and fought under McClellan. At Antietam and South Mountain the young soldier saw war in its grimmest aspect. After Antietam he was promoted to Second-Lieutenant, but just previous to this promotion he had been made Commissary-Sergeant. He was on the staff of Colonel Hayes. It was at the battle of Antietam, which President Hayes has called the bloodiest day of the whole war, that Sergeant McKinley attracted attention to himself and won his promotion by his service which, while not set down in war histories as a part of the glorious deeds of that day, was nevertheless one that helped to win the fight. Under the hottest fire, with men lying dead and dying all about him, with men suffering bitterly from the want of a bite to eat and a drop to drink, Sergeant McKinley organized a staff and went over that bloody field distributing food and coffee to the fighting men, cheering them on with brave words and never for an instant seeming to care for the shot and shell that were flying about him. Colonel Hayes noticed this young man and while recovering from his wounds he called upon Governor Todd of Ohio and told him the incident. The Governor immediately ordered the promotion of Sergeant McKinley and further

ordered that the promotion should be placed upon the roster of the company.

Step by step the young man won his way up until three months before he was mustered out he was made Major by brevet "for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Opequan, Cedar Creek and Fisher Hill." That commission was signed "A. Lincoln."

At the battle of Opequan, McKinley, then a Captain, won the regard and respect of his superior officers. The Twenty-third Ohio took a conspicuous part in this battle and the brigade and division to which McKinley belonged made a most gallant charge across a morass. General Hayes led this charge and McKinley was on his staff. General Crook's corps, to which McKinley belonged, was held in reserve. The battle opened with the Sixth and Nineteenth Corps. A dreadful crash and slaughter occurred. The Union lines were driven back and Crook by direction of Sheridan sent for his reserve corps to come up. Every staff officer had been sent to hurry them. McKinley was the last one left with Crook. Both Crook and Sheridan said "Captain McKinley, for God's sake go back and bring up those troops." McKinley found, on his way back, that the road over which the first division had come, was strewn with horses, broken caissons and dismantled artillery, and that it was obstructed to such an extent that it was impracticable for troops to pass over them. He found the first division slowly picking its way along this road to the front. He advised the commanding officer to make haste and then went to the second division, commanded by General Isaac H. Duval. He explained to General Duval the conditions at the front and the absolute necessity of the troops getting there as early as possible. He also explained the difficulty of making any headway along the pike, and suggested to the General that there was a dirt road running parallel to the pike which would enable the division to get to the front more promptly. When McKinley made this suggestion to General Duval the General answered that he had not been commanded to take the dirt road. The young Captain paused only for an instant, then rising in his stirrups, he said, "General Duval, by command of General Crook I command you to take the dirt road and proceed to the front with all possible speed." The General obeyed, moved his division along the dirt road and reached the front in time to save the day. When this incident was reported to General Crook he called the young

Captain before him and asked if it was correctly reported. McKinley replied that it was.

"Did you know the full consequence of that order?"

"I did."

"Did you know that if that order failed to bring Duval's division to the front the responsibility would have rested upon you alone?" asked the General.

"I knew that full well," replied the young Captain. "And for that responsibility I was liable to court-martial and even death. But I took that chance, believing it was the only way to save the day."

The General looked at his young staff officer a minute and then replied:

"And you did save the day."

This readiness of William McKinley to accept responsibility and act promptly in an emergency has characterized his whole career as soldier, as statesman and as President of the United States. General Sheridan testified to this characteristic of McKinley in his account of the battle at Cedar Creek, the morning of his ride from Winchester. Sheridan says, that the first encouragement he met with on that famous ride was young McKinley rallying a squad of straggling troops to check the retreat. William McKinley remained in the army from June, 1861, until September, 1865. He served as private, as Sergeant, as Lieutenant, as Captain, and in the service as a major of United States volunteers by brevet.

William McKinley was twenty-two years old when he returned to Ohio and civil life. His four years service had given him a taste for army life, and but for his father's opposition he might have entered the regular army, as General Carroll desired him to do. He chose civil life, however, studied law with Charles E. Glidden and David Wilson of Mahoning County, took a course at the Albany (N. Y.) law school and in 1867 was admitted to the bar and located at Canton, Stark county, which has since been his home. Soon after McKinley began his law practice he made the acquaintance of Marcus A. Hanna under circumstances which did not then suggest the strong friendship which has for years drawn the two men so close together. The father of Senator Hanna owned the coal mines at Massillon and during a strike incendiaries set fire to the works and they were destroyed. Twenty-three coal miners who had been employed there were arrested and tried for that

crime. They were poor and had not the means to secure counsel as the labor unions in that day were not so well organized or so able to assist their members. William McKinley heard of these arrests and to one of the miners volunteered their defense. He took charge of the defense of all the miners under arrest and while the evidence appeared to be overwhelming against them, twenty-two of these men were acquitted by the jury and the twenty-third who was found guilty was afterward pardoned, largely through the influence of his young attorney. In that trial McKinley made his first great fight for the laboring men. He did it without money and without price, for he refused to accept any pay for his services. In a contest between labor and capital he took his position with labor. He has maintained that position ever since and throughout his whole public career he has been the champion of American labor. He has always had the support of organized labor in his own county and congressional district and by that vote he has served not only his district but the whole country.

He began his political career by becoming a candidate for prosecuting attorney in Stark county in 1869. He was elected in a democratic county but defeated for re-election two years later. In 1872 he took the stump for his party, and in 1876 he was nominated as the Republican candidate for Congress. For fourteen years he represented the district of which Stark county was a part—not the same district, for the Ohio Democrats did not relish the part he was playing in Congress and “gerrymandered” him three times. In 1878 they so changed the district as to give it a Democratic majority of 1800, but McKinley carried it by a majority of 1300. In 1884 they again changed the district so as to give it a Democratic majority of 1500 but McKinley’s popularity changed that to a Republican majority of 1530. Finally in 1890, the year he had placed upon the statute books of the nation the famous McKinley bill, partisan intolerance had its most iniquitous expression. Stark county was put in a district which had a Democratic majority of nearly 4000. McKinley did not falter but made the fight for re-election against the overwhelming odds and that campaign became one of the most notable political battles that has ever been waged in a congressional district. McKinley was defeated but the majority against him was not 4000 but only 303 votes. That defeat and that fight made William McKinley Governor of Ohio and later President of the United States.

William McKinley's record in Congress is a part of the most important history of the country. He was active and prominent from the time he entered the House of Representatives. When James A. Garfield became President, Major McKinley took his place on the Ways and Means Committee of the House. He served there for fourteen years and in that time he devoted his attention very largely to the tariff question. He took part in many prominent debates on various questions but he made the tariff his especial study. He followed the advice of President Hayes who said to him when first elected a Representative, "To achieve success and fame you must pursue a special line. You must not make a speech on every motion offered or every bill introduced. You must confine yourself to one thing in particular. Become a specialist. Take up some branch of legislation and make it your study. Why not the tariff?"

Everybody knows how Major McKinley did take up the tariff and how he made what was considered the driest subject in Congress one of the most interesting. He made it a question which became the great issue between the two great political parties of this country. With him "protection" became a passion. Until 1888 a protective tariff had been one of the planks in Republican platforms. In that year Major McKinley was the Chairman of the Committee on Platform, made "protection to American industry" the paramount issue of the campaign and on that issue Benjamin Harrison was elected President and the Republican party was given control of the House of Representatives.

When the Fifty-first Congress met, Major McKinley was a candidate for Speaker but was defeated by Thomas B. Reed, and Speaker Reed selected McKinley for Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. This was the natural result of the great campaign which had again placed the Republican party in power in all branches of the government. McKinley, as Chairman of the Committee that formulated the Republican platform in 1888, became the Chairman of the great Committee in Congress that must carry out the pledges of that platform. He drafted the tariff bill with which his name became identified. Possibly no measure passed by Congress has been the subject of so much discussion and so widely varying opinions as has the McKinley tariff bill. Its friends have sung its praises and its enemies have been loud in their denunciation. Before it got into practical operation the over-

whelming Democratic victories of 1890 threw uncertainty over the result of the Presidential contest of 1892, and the business interests of the country took alarm. Major McKinley was defeated in that year of 1890 and with him enough Republicans went to defeat to give the Democrats an overwhelming majority in Congress. Thousands of Republicans all over the country became timid and looked upon the McKinley tariff bill as the cause of the downfall of the Republican party. But the courage and the faith of its author rose above all the doubts and discouragements of the time. He said, "my friends, be firm. This is only a cross current; the tide of truth flows surely on beneath."

The history written in the last eight years has demonstrated the correctness of Major McKinley's view. The Democratic party came into power in 1893 on a platform of free trade which at once began to disturb business and industry. Before President Cleveland's last term was half finished, manufacturing industries were paralyzed and thousands upon thousands of American workingmen were without work, and the whole people were calling for a return to the prosperous times that had followed the enactment of the McKinley law. In 1894 there was an unprecedented demand for William McKinley, then Governor of Ohio, to speak in all parts of the country, and everywhere he went he was hailed as the next President of the United States.

Major McKinley had several times had the tempting offer of the Presidency dangled before his eyes by his admiring friends. In 1884 as a delegate-at-large from Ohio to the Republican National Convention he supported James G. Blaine for President. He was again a delegate-at-large in 1888, this time advocating the nomination of John Sherman. It was a long and exciting contest. The convention was in session for more than a week. Mr. Blaine, then in Europe, was ardently supported by many, despite his letter declining to be a candidate. There grew up a strong feeling for McKinley. Many of the leaders favored his nomination as the best solution of the difficulty. On Saturday, June 22, every Republican member of the House of Representatives then in Washington, joined in a telegram to Chicago saying that the best interests of the party demanded the nomination of Major McKinley. That same day during the balloting, Connecticut cast a vote for McKinley. He rose in the midst of the roll call and said Ohio had sent him there to support John Sherman, and his heart and judgment accorded with his instructions. He could not remain silent with honor nor consistent

with the credit of Ohio, honorable fidelity to John Sherman or with his own views of personal integrity "consent or seem to consent to be a candidate." "I would not respect myself," said he, "if I could find it in my heart to do or to say, or to permit it to be done, that which would even be ground for anyone to suspect that I wavered in my loyalty to Ohio, or my devotion to the chief of her choice and the chief of mine. I do not request, I demand that no delegate who would not cast a reflection upon me, shall cast a ballot for me." Major McKinley remained steadfast in his position, and when Blaine's letter came reiterating his refusal to be a candidate, the nomination went to Benjamin Harrison and was ratified by his election in the fall. It is not a rash statement to say that Major McKinley's fidelity lost him the Presidency in 1888. But it increased the confidence of the people in his honor and faithfulness to his trust.

Four years later when the Minneapolis convention met, Major McKinley was unanimously chosen its permanent chairman. When it became evident that Blaine could not defeat President Harrison's re-nomination, many of his friends again turned toward McKinley. There was great excitement when the convention began to ballot. Major McKinley was in the chair and announced that the ballot for President should be taken. The first State called, Alabama, told that some at least of Blaine's strength was going to McKinley. When Ohio's vote was called, the vote was announced as forty-four for McKinley and two for Harrison. The convention went wild. Amid the din and confusion Major McKinley, in the chair, demanded a poll of the delegation. He said, "I am a delegate from Ohio, and I demand that my vote be counted." "You are not here," shouted Foraker, chairman of the delegation, "and your alternate voted for you." Chairman McKinley insisted, however, upon a poll of the delegation, and Ohio cast forty-five votes for McKinley and one for Harrison. The one Harrison vote was cast by McKinley. Again he showed his loyalty to the trust imposed in him by his State and by the President, who was his friend. It was not remarkable after these two refusals to become a candidate that the Republicans of the country turned to Major McKinley again in 1896 and made him their candidate for President. He had served four years as governor of Ohio, and his State with great enthusiasm presented his name to the convention at St. Louis. He was elected by the largest popular vote ever given to a candidate for President. His administration has been one of the

most brilliant the country has ever known, and it has added to the glory of the nation in war and in peace and has extended the territory over the islands of the sea.

In his conduct of the war with Spain President McKinley was in fact, as well as in name, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. During the three months of that war President McKinley sat in the war room at the White House in communication with every commander in Cuba and in the Philippines, and also with the commanders of the different squadrons of the navy. He directed that campaign in person as much as ever did a commander-in-chief upon the field. The electric wires and cables stretching out to every part of the world where an American regiment or an American naval ship was located carried his commands and directed their movements. With maps and plans showing the location of every regiment, and every battleship and cruiser and transport, the President did in fact keep his finger upon the machinery of war and direct every movement of the army and navy. His experience as a soldier in the civil war had taught him the value of prompt action and determined movements in the direction of military campaigns. The credit of that short and energetic campaign which resulted in such great triumph for American arms was very largely due to the President himself.

The home life of President McKinley is ideal. His devotion to his invalid wife has been the subject of much comment among the people of the whole country. In 1871 he married Miss Ida Saxton of Canton. Their two children died in infancy, an especially deep infliction to a couple who loved children as they do. While there are no children in the White House to call that their home during this administration, it has been made welcome to all children by the President and his accomplished wife.

The unvarying courtesy of President McKinley extends beyond his home life and circle of friends. It reaches acquaintances and strangers and applies to political friend and political opponent alike. In public debates he was never known to say an unkind word of any man. He has attacked and defended principles, not men, and from men of all parties and all walks of life has been given the verdict, "He is a manly man, and a true gentleman."



WILLIAM MCKINLEY



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

MARCUS ALONZO HANNA

Marcus Alonzo Hanna, chairman of the National Republican Committee, is one of the most prominent and influential citizens of Cleveland, Ohio. He was born in New Lisbon (now Lisbon), Columbiana County, Ohio, September 24, 1837. His family were New England people. When the present Senator was fifteen years old, they removed to Cleveland. Mark Hanna was educated in the public schools of that city and the Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio.

After his schooling he was engaged as an employee in the grocery house of Hanna, Garretson & Co., his father being senior member of the firm. His father died in 1862 and he represented that interest in the firm until 1867 when the business was closed, when he became a member of the firm of Rhodes & Co., engaged in the iron and coal business. At the expiration of ten years the title of this firm was changed to M. A. Hanna & Co., which still exists. This business has been extended in various directions until their interests now amount to several millions of dollars, and includes among other things the largest ship yards on the lakes. Mark Hanna was one of the earliest stockholders in the Standard Oil Company. He is also a large owner in street railways, both in Cleveland and Buffalo, and there are few prominent enterprises in the city in which he lives, which he has not encouraged and in which he is not interested to some extent. Senator Hanna is president of the Union National Bank, of Cleveland, president of the Cleveland City Railway Company, and president of the Chapin Mining Company. He was a director of the Union Pacific Railway Company in 1885 by appointment of President Cleveland.

Although repeatedly urged to accept the nomination for offices in the gift of his party, Senator Hanna kept out of politics until recent years. He was a strong supporter of Garfield's candidacy for the presidency in 1880 and was a liberal contributor to his campaign fund. In 1884, 1888 and 1896 he was a delegate to the Republican National Conventions, and in the later year, after the nomination of McKinley for the presidency, he was chosen chairman of the National Republican committee and managed that campaign. He has been re-chosen for that position for the campaign of 1900. He was appointed to the United States Senate as a Republican to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of John Sherman in 1897 to become Secretary of State. He was elected by the Legislature to fill out the short term and re-elected, so that his term of service will expire March 4, 1905.



MARCUS A. HANNA
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM OHIO

JOHN HAY

John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States, is one of the most notable figures in the diplomatic service of America. The death of Vice-President Hobart makes Mr. Hay the successor apparent to the presidency in case of the "removal, death, resignation, or inability" of President McKinley before March 4, 1901.

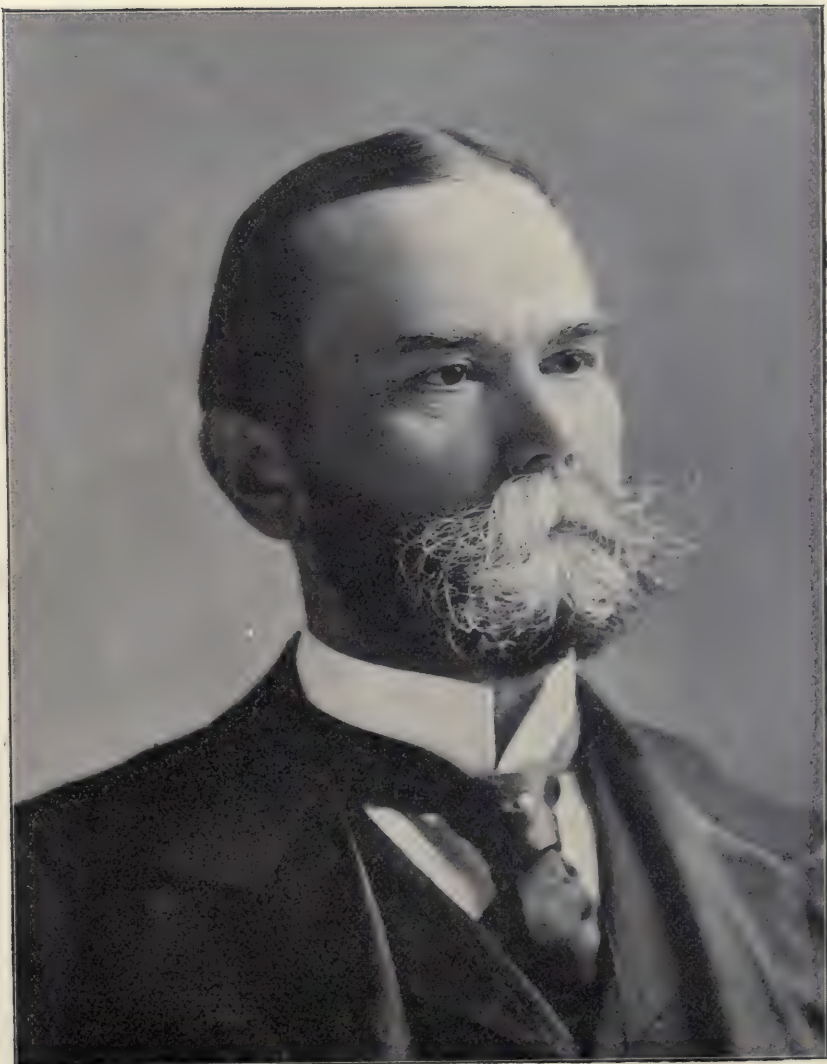
A man of great and varied abilities, graduating at Brown University at twenty, he began by studying law with Abraham Lincoln in Springfield. He gained admission to the bar of the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1861, then came immediately to Washington as assistant secretary to President Lincoln, acted also as his adjutant and aid-de-camp and served for several months under Generals Hunter and Gillmore with the rank of major and the brevet of colonel.

Upon the death of President Lincoln Colonel Hay went to Paris as secretary of legation, next to Vienna as secretary of legation and charge-de-affaires and then as secretary of legation to Spain. He returned to America to become editorial writer on the New York Tribune for five years. He served as Assistant Secretary of State from November 1, 1879, until May 3, 1881, and on March 19, 1897, took the chief place in our diplomatic service as ambassador to Great Britain. He became Secretary of State September 20, 1898. Although he has never served long in any one office, except the four years as assistant secretary to President Lincoln, he has made his mark and added to his reputation by his thorough and skillful work in every post.

Colonel Hay has won even more repute by his literary work than by his activity in politics and diplomacy. His most important book is the "Life of Lincoln," written in collaboration with John G. Nicolay, which was published in several volumes.

Colonel Hay's poems had previously gained for him a wide reputation as a keen humorist and sympathetic observer of human nature. His "Pike County Ballads," published in 1871; "Jim Bludso" and "Little Breeches" have become exceedingly popular. His "Castilian Days," studies of Spanish life and character, the fruit of his sojourn in Spain as a diplomatic officer of the United States, appeared in 1871.

His marriage to the daughter of Amasa Stone, the Cleveland multimillionaire, brought Colonel Hay great wealth and their home in Washington is one of the famous houses of the capital city.



JOHN HAY
SECRETARY OF STATE

ELIHU ROOT

Elihu Root, of New York, Secretary of War, in accepting the post vacated by Mr. Alger, has come into greater responsibilities in the administration of our military affairs than has any other man since Edwin M. Stanton directed the affairs of war during the Rebellion. When President McKinley announced in Cabinet meeting on July 21, 1899, that it was his intention to ask Mr. Root to take the office, he said, in effect, that he regarded it under the present and prospective conditions as second to no other in the Cabinet and that he had selected Mr. Root because he felt that the place demanded a man of unusual ability, strength and discretion. The members of the Cabinet, in warmly approving the President's choice, generally added that they regarded the Secretaryship of War as now the most important Cabinet office. President McKinley had been keeping Mr. Root in mind for some great duty like this ever since offering him the mission to Spain, which General Woodford took after Mr. Root had felt obliged to decline the honor, and now the duty was so great as to warrant his belief that Mr. Root would feel obliged to respond to its demand as an imperative call to patriotic service of the highest character and importance. The President's expectation was promptly justified by Mr. Root, who accepted the invitation like a good soldier obeying a command, and has thus far filled the difficult position with intelligence, skill and tact seldom equalled.

Mr. Root was born in Clinton, Oneida County, New York, February 15, 1845. His father was Oren Root, for many years professor of mathematics in Hamilton College, where Mr. Root himself graduated, paying for his own education with the money he earned teaching school. Then he studied law, completing his course at the University Law School, in New York City.

He took from the beginning a public-spirited interest in politics and engaged actively on the Republican side. The only office he ever held before becoming Secretary of War was that of United States District Attorney at New York City, to which he was appointed by his friend, President Arthur, and in which he served with success for two years. For many years Mr. Root has been recognized as one of the leaders of the New York bar.



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ELIHU ROOT
SECRETARY OF WAR

JOHN DAVIS LONG

No other member of President McKinley's Cabinet has been more constantly and seriously occupied, since the fall of 1897, than the Secretary of the Navy, John Davis Long. From the moment the Cuban question began to assume a look that threatened a possible disturbance of peaceful relations between Spain and the United States, the navy department began devoting its energies to the development of its power. In a few months, with the least possible advertisement of its purposes, the service advanced rapidly from a condition of unreadiness to one of comparatively great efficiency.

Mr. Long was born in Buckfield, Oxford County, Me., October 27, 1838. He received a common school education in his native place, an academic education at Hebron, a neighboring town, and a collegiate education at Harvard. He composed the class ode to be sung at the commencement in 1857. After leaving college he accepted the position as principal of the Westford Academy, where he remained two years. He then entered the Harvard law school, completing his legal studies in the offices of Peleg W. Chandler and Sidney Bartlett in Boston. He was admitted to the bar in 1861, began to practice in his native town, and became partner of Stillman B. Allen, in Boston, in 1862, when his citizenship in Massachusetts began.

In 1875 he first entered the political arena and was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He was re-elected to the Legislature in 1876, 1877 and 1878 and during these years was speaker of the House. At the Republican convention in 1878 he received the nomination for Lieutenant-Governor on the ticket with Hon. Thomas Talbot, and was elected. He was nominated for the governorship in the following year and was elected, his opponent being General B. F. Butler. In 1880 he was unanimously renominated for a second term and was elected. He held the office by re-election until 1883. Then he declined a re-election and his constituents in the Second Congressional district of Massachusetts nominated him for the national legislature by acclamation. He was elected and served six years.

Mr. Long then returned to the practice of his profession and was one of the busiest lawyers in Boston till President McKinley took him from his office, his home, and his books to become the head of the navy department. He was considered a strong candidate for the Republican nomination for the vice-presidency, and even the administration favorite, but Governor Roosevelt, of New York, developed impregnable strength and Secretary Long's name was not presented.



JOHN D. LONG
SECRETARY OF NAVY

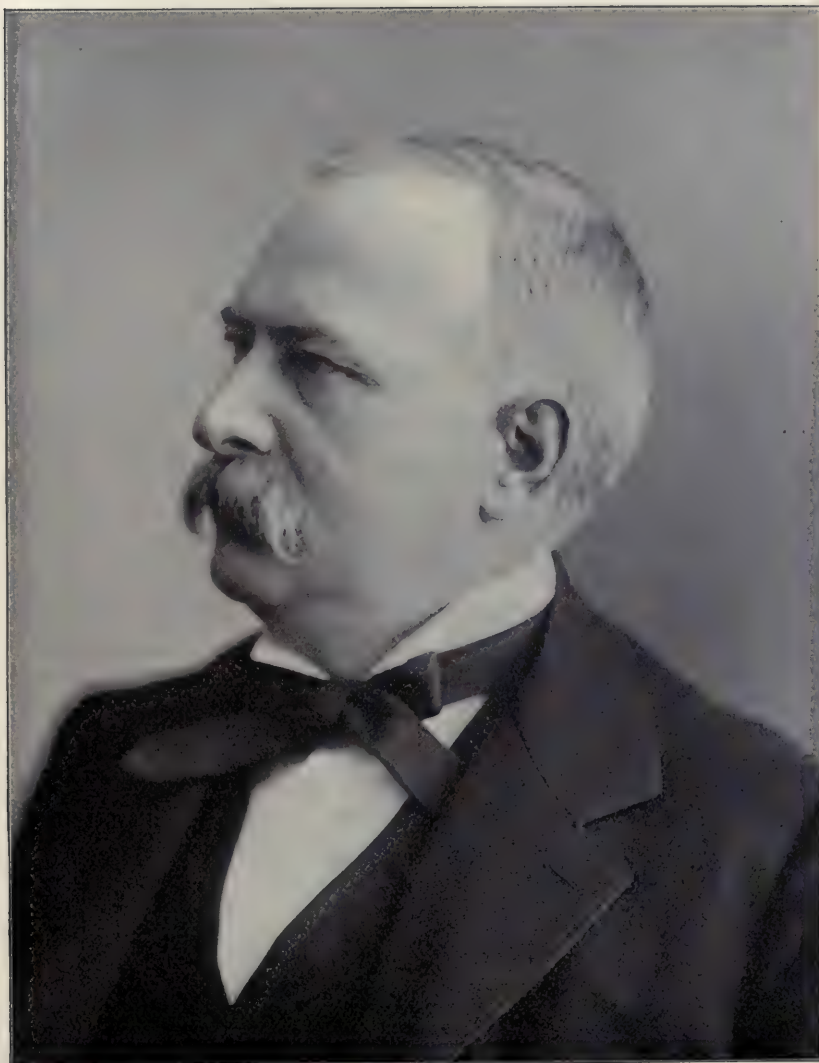
JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER

Joseph Benson Foraker, like Lincoln and Grant, is from the farm. He was born among the picturesque hills of the interior of the State, in a log cabin near Rainsboro, Highland County, Ohio, July 5, 1846. The beginning of his education was in the district school.

He was but sixteen years old when he enlisted as a private in Company A, Eighty-ninth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry. He was the first man mustered in and the last man mustered out. He served in this regiment until the close of the war, at which time by successive promotions he had risen to the rank of first lieutenant and brevet captain.

Before he was nineteen years old the war was over, and the boy soldier, with a record of three years of brilliant military service, returned to the farm, the mill and the school. After two years at the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, he entered Cornell University and graduated in the first class, July 1, 1869. While attending Cornell he studied law and was admitted to the bar and began the practice of the law at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 14, 1869. The following year he was married to Miss Julia Bundy, of Wellston, Ohio.

The advance of the young attorney was steady and permanent. His marvelous ability coupled with infinite capacity for hard work marked him a conspicuous figure among the young men at the bar and in 1876 he was nominated on the Republican ticket for common pleas judge, but was defeated. In April, 1879, he was elected judge of the superior court of Cincinnati and presided with signal distinction. So thorough was he in his researches before announcing a decision that none he has given has been reversed. After three years he resigned on account of ill health, his resignation being accepted upon his insistence in the face of the most urgent protests from the leading members of the bar. Then he returned to the practice of law and in 1883 was placed on the Republican State ticket as nominee for Governor, but was defeated. Two years later he was renominated and elected, serving four years. In 1889 he was nominated the fourth time for Governor, but was defeated by James E. Campbell. He was elected United States Senator, January 15, 1896, to succeed Calvin S. Brice, and took his seat, March 4, 1897. His term will expire March 3, 1903.



JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM OHIO

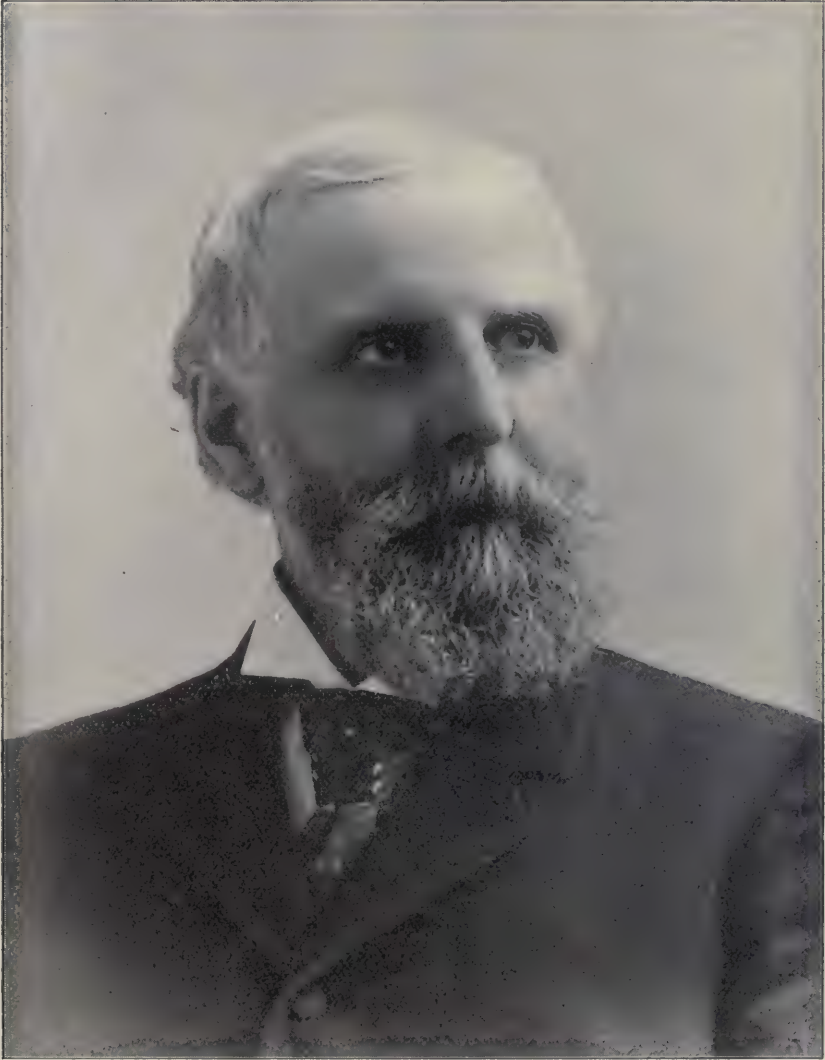
LYMAN JUDSON GAGE

Lyman Judson Gage, Secretary of the Treasury, was born at De Ruyter, Madison county, New York, June 28, 1836. When he was but ten years old, his family removed to Rome, Oneida county, New York, where at the age of seventeen he began his career as a financier by assuming the duties of office boy, and clerk in the Oneida Central bank. Mr. Gage's learning is self-acquired. His school days were few and ended when he was fourteen years of age.

In 1855 he went to Chicago to seek his fortune. Finding no ready clerical employment, he went to work in a planing mill but did not remain there long. His natural capabilities soon secured him a position in the office, and in 1858 he re-entered the banking business by becoming a book-keeper for the Merchants' Loan and Trust Company. Within a year he was the paying teller of that concern. In 1860 he was assistant cashier, and cashier in 1861. When the Chicago Clearing House was organized Mr. Gage was offered the management. He declined the position, but undertook its duties until the project was fairly launched.

Mr. Gage's connection with the First National Bank began in 1868, when he was appointed cashier. In 1882 he was elected vice president, and in 1891, on the retirement of S. M. Nickerson, Mr. Gage succeeded him as president of the bank. Mr. Gage was elected President of the World's Columbian Exposition in May, 1890, but resigned when he accepted the presidency of the bank.

Mr. Gage has been identified with many public enterprises and also many private concerns which were of such wide influence as to be semi-public in their character. He was a member of the Clearing House Committee when the Chicago Clearing House Association was first organized. He became at once an officer of the Citizens' League on its organization in 1885. He was a director of the Union Stockyards National Bank on its organization in 1869. He was one of the Executive Committee of the Commercial Club at its inception in 1885. He was Vice President of the Union Club in 1884; Treasurer of the Y. M. C. A. in 1878-'79; Treasurer of the Art Institute for several years; for three terms President of the American Banker's Association, and one of the chief promoters of the musical festivals and concerts which have done so much to place Chicago in the front rank as a musical center. He was Chairman of the Committee on Finance for the Republican National Convention of 1880.



LYMAN J. GAGE
SECRETARY OF TREASURY

JOHN MELLEN THURSTON

John Mellen Thurston, of Omaha, was born at Montpelier, Vermont, August 21, 1847. His ancestors were Puritans; their settlement in this country dates back to 1636. His grandfather Mellen and great-grandfather Thurston were both soldiers in the Revolutionary war. Mr. Thurston's father was a tanner and a farmer. His parents removed to Wisconsin when he was a boy, and after his father had died in the war, young Thurston sawed wood, built fences and worked in the harvest field, contributing his earnings to the support of his mother. In 1868 he went to Chicago, bought an express wagon and horse, and for about a year drove over Chicago delivering goods for various wholesale houses. After one year of that work he returned home to Beaver Dam and began to trap and catch fish under the ice. During this time he attended the public school at Beaver Dam and the next year entered Wayland University at the same place.

In May, 1869, he was admitted to the bar and in the fall he went to Omaha and opened up an office. He was elected justice of the peace in 1871, city attorney of Omaha in 1874 and a member of the Nebraska Legislature in 1875. In 1877 he was made assistant general attorney for the Union Pacific Railway company and in 1888 became general solicitor at a salary of \$12,000 a year.

In politics Mr. Thurston has always been an ardent Republican. In 1884 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention at Chicago, and seconded the nomination of John A. Logan for Vice-President. In 1888 he became temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention at Chicago and his speech on that occasion was regarded as so eloquent that it gave him a national reputation. He was president of the Republican League of the United States from 1889 to 1891. He was selected as permanent chairman of the Republican National Convention held in St. Louis in June, 1896, which nominated Major William McKinley for President.

January 15, 1895, he was elected to the United States Senate. His eloquent speech in the Senate on the Cuban question, after a journey of investigation in that unhappy island, was one of the most potent factors in influencing American intervention to obtain freedom for the Cubans. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901.



JOHN MELLEN THURSTON
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEBRASKA

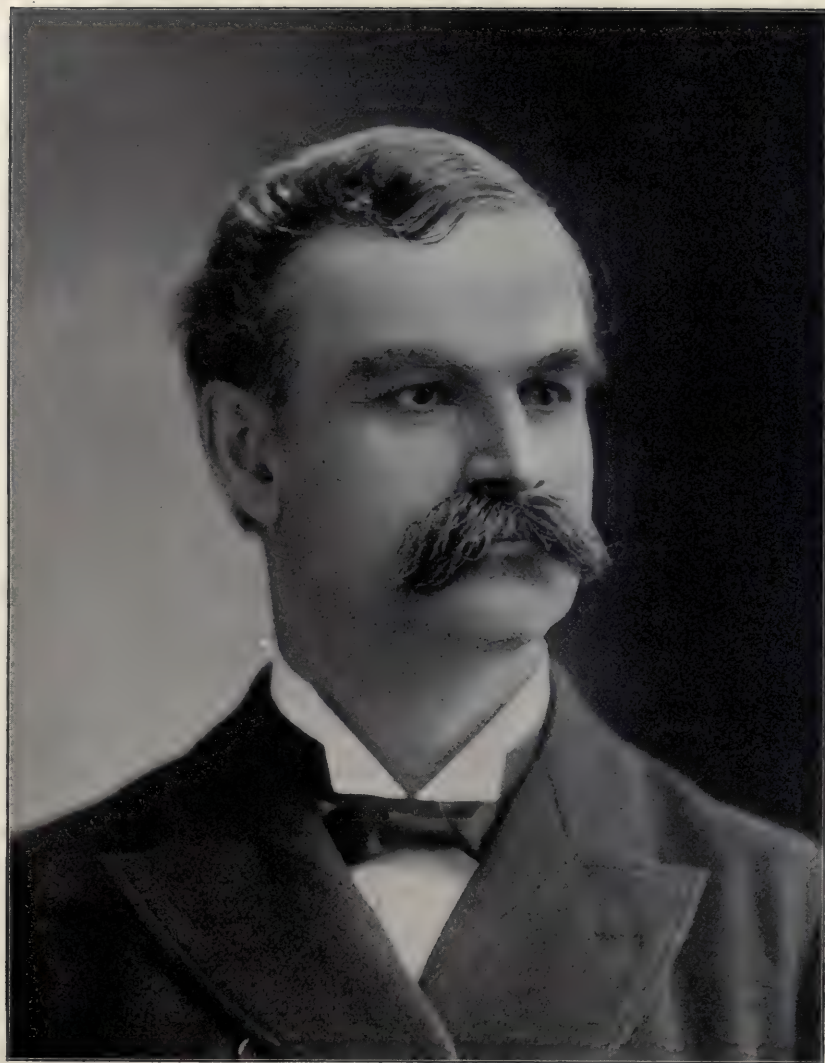
CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD

Charles E. Littlefield was born in Lebanon, York county, Maine, in 1851. His father was the Rev. W. H. Littlefield, a minister of the Baptist Church, a gentleman of broad culture as well as a marked bent for mechanics. The son, after a high school education, was put to work at the carpenter's bench. From carpentry he graduated into the pattern shop of a granite company, and among other things helped to prepare and box the stone for the State, War and Navy Department building in Washington. From his wages he saved enough to enter a law office in Rockland and study for the bar, and his work was so thorough that he passed the best examination of any applicant for admission in the history of Knox county.

Settling in Rockland, his present home, Mr. Littlefield opened a law office, and it was not long before his worth became generally known and practice came to him rapidly. His eloquence and the force of his logic made him a striking figure in the courtroom. His professional ability naturally drew him into the political field. He became a member of the city council, then a member of the Republican county committee, and next of the Republican State committee. He was elected county attorney in spite of a normal Democratic majority, and in 1885 was elected to the Legislature, then re-elected and chosen speaker during his second term. Two years later he was chosen Attorney General by the people and, with the exception of Thomas B. Reed, he was the youngest man who ever held that office in Maine.

Mr. Littlefield's first public service was in the Maine Legislature, where he interested himself successfully in several measures for improving the condition of the working people, regulating the hours of labor, and extending the protection of the law over children employed in factories.

Mr. Littlefield is regarded by all not only as a worthy successor to the late Nelson Dingley, but as a man who will uphold the reputation of the State of Blaine and Reed in the House of Representatives. His speech in the case of Roberts of Utah and his outspoken opposition to the Porto Rico tariff bill have placed him conspicuously in the public eye and have called forth the opinions of the critics in the House as to his capacity and his promise. That he has become an influence which must be reckoned with nobody seems inclined to gainsay.



CHARLES E. LITTLEFIELD
MAINE

WILLIAM BOYD ALLISON

William Boyd Allison, of Dubuque, was born in Perry, Ohio, March 2, 1829. His father was a farmer and the future Senator lived the life of the ordinary country boy, working on the farm three-fourths of the year and attending the district school in winter. His substantial education was acquired at Alleghany College, in Meadville, Pennsylvania, and at the Western Reserve College, in Hudson, Ohio. He studied law at Wooster, Ohio, and was admitted to the bar in 1852. He practiced law in Ashland, Ohio, and in 1857 moved to Dubuque, Iowa.

He at once became interested in Iowa politics. He had known Samuel J. Kirkwood in Ohio and naturally became an adherent to the man since known in Iowa as the War Governor. Mr. Allison was a delegate to the State Convention which nominated Mr. Kirkwood in 1859. In 1860 he was honored by being sent as a delegate to the National Republican Convention, the Convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln. When Lincoln issued his second call for troops, Governor Kirkwood placed Mr. Allison on the staff with the rank of colonel and gave him authority to raise regiments in Northwestern Iowa, and to equip them for service in the field. He raised in all four regiments.

Mr. Allison was elected to Congress in 1862 and served four terms, retiring in 1871. He first took his seat in the House on March 3, 1863. James G. Blaine and James A. Garfield took their seats in the same House for the first time. Mr. Allison was prominent on the Ways and Means Committee while he served in the House and declined a re-election in 1870. Two years later he was chosen to succeed James Harlan in the United States Senate, taking his seat March 4, 1873. He has been re-elected four times since and his term of service of thirty years as a Senator will expire in 1903.

Mr. Allison's most conspicuous service has been in connection with financial legislation. For years he has been recognized as one of the highest authorities on finance and of late perhaps the strongest and most influential member of the Senate. Mr. Allison was twice tendered a seat in the Cabinet, first by President Garfield and next by President Harrison, each time declining the honor and remaining a Senator. On two occasions he has been a prominent candidate before the Republican National Convention for the Presidential nomination.



WILLIAM B. ALLISON
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM IOWA

CUSHMAN KELLOGG DAVIS

Cushman Kellogg Davis, of St. Paul, was born in Henderson, Jefferson County, New York, June 16, 1838. He removed with his parents to Waukesha County, Wisconsin, at an early age, and was educated at Carroll College, Waukesha, and Michigan University, where he graduated in June, 1857. On his return to Wisconsin he was employed as deputy clerk of the Supreme Court at Madison.

He was first lieutenant in the Twenty-eighth Wisconsin Infantry in 1862-64 and served as assistant adjutant general on the staff of General Willis A. Gorman, of St. Paul. In 1865 he came to Minnesota and began the practice of law in St. Paul in partnership with General Gorman, under the firm name of Gorman and Davis.

His political career began as a member of the Minnesota Legislature. Then he became Governor of the State and finally Senator. He is now serving his second term. President McKinley made him a member of the commission which met at Paris, September, 1898, to arrange terms of peace between the United States and Spain. Prior to that event he was a leader in the national Senate on Republican war policy and a powerful force at all times for fair construction of the Constitution and persistent upholding of its meaning. As a strong, able practitioner of the law he became well known to the United States Supreme Court fifteen years ago. One of his strongest characteristics is, that although a man past the prime of life he remains a student, always delving for the basic principles underlying new situations and new questions. He reads more and perhaps makes more practical application of his reading than does any other member of the Senate. As a speaker he is forceful and convincing; as a public man he has always kept in close touch with the best thought of the country. He is essentially a Western product. Twice he has been mentioned for the vice-presidency. Senator Davis' free trade amendment to the Porto Rican House bill offered in March struck the popular chord. His Republicanism is of the most stalwart kind. His fame extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, as one of the most influential members of the Senate and one of the deepest students of our foreign relations. He is chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.



CUSHMAN KELLOGG DAVIS
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MINNESOTA

JOHN C. SPOONER

John C. Spooner, of Madison, was born at Lawrenceburg, Dearborn County, Indiana, January 6, 1843. Sixteen years later his home was changed by the removal of his father's family to Madison, Wisconsin. Having graduated from the State University there in 1864, he immediately enlisted as a private in Company D, in the 40th Wisconsin Volunteers. Sickness compelled him to retire from the army for a short time, during which he was Assistant State Librarian. He then raised a company of the 50th Wisconsin, which was sent to Fort Rice, North Dakota, to fight Indians. He was mustered out in July, 1866, with the rank of major, but eighteen months subsequent service on the staff of Governor Fairchild, as private and military secretary, entitled him to be known as "Colonel."

Admission to the bar was gained in 1867, and until 1870 Colonel Spooner served as Assistant Attorney-General of the State, when he removed to Hudson, where he practiced law from 1870 until 1884. Having been elected a member of the Legislature, he vigorously championed there the cause of the State University, for which reason he was soon after appointed one of the Regents of that institution. For twelve years Colonel Spooner was general solicitor of the West Wisconsin Railroad company and of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad company. In his law practice Colonel Spooner won distinction as a logical and forcible leader. He has hardly an equal as an orator in Wisconsin. Upon his advent to the Senate in 1885 he was recognized as an alert, energetic man of affairs and a shrewd politician. He was chairman of the Wisconsin delegation to the National Republican Convention in 1888. In 1891 he was succeeded as United States Senator by William F. Vilas, a Democrat. Senator Spooner was again chairman of the Wisconsin delegation to the National Republican Convention at Minneapolis in 1892, and was nominated a few months later for Governor, but was defeated. In 1893 he removed from Hudson to Madison, where he engaged in the practice of law. He was elected United States Senator January 27, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903.

Earnest Republican he is, and firm in his convictions of the views which the party supports, Senator Spooner has not hesitated at times to oppose his party's action when he felt it to be in violation of the basic principles of Republicanism. In such cases he has the courage of his convictions.



JOHN C. SPOONER

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN

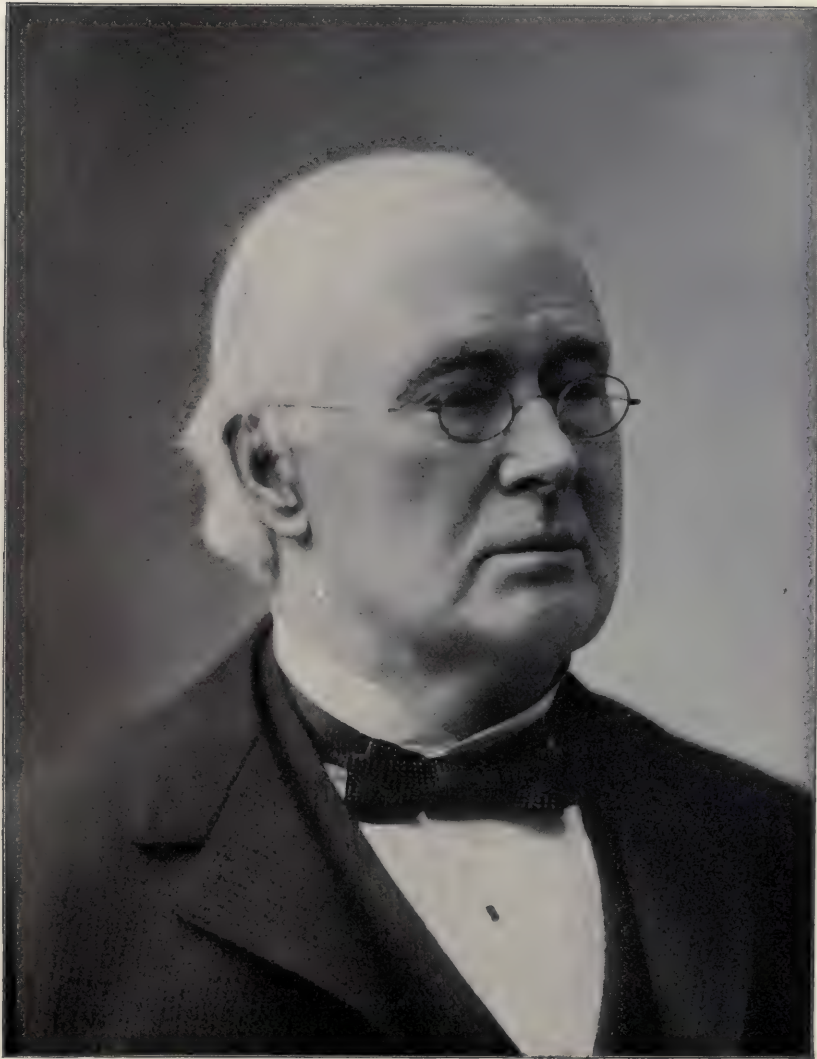
GEORGE F. HOAR

George F. Hoar of Worcester, Mass., was born in Concord, Mass., August 29, 1826. He studied in early youth at Concord Academy and graduated at Harvard College in 1846. He studied law and graduated at the Dane Law School, Harvard University, then settled at Worcester where he practiced. He was a member of the State House of Representatives in 1852 and of the State Senate in 1857; was City Solicitor in 1860. He was elected a Representative to the Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses. He declined a renomination for Representative in the Forty-fifth Congress.

Mr. Hoar was an overseer of Harvard College from 1874 till 1880. He declined re-election then, but was re-elected once more in 1896. He was chosen President of the Association of the Alumni of Harvard, but declined. He presided over the Massachusetts State Republican conventions of 1871, 1877, 1882 and 1885, and was a delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1876 at Cincinnati, and of 1880, 1884 and 1888, at Chicago, presiding over the convention of 1880. He was chairman of the Massachusetts delegation in 1880, 1884 and 1888. He was one of the managers on the part of the House of Representatives of the Belknap impeachment trial in 1876, and was a member of the Electoral Commission in 1876.

Senator Hoar was Regent of the Smithsonian Institution in 1880; has been President and Vice President of the American Antiquarian Society; President of the American Historical Association, Trustee of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology, Trustee of the Leicester Academy, is a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the American Historical Society, the Historic-Genealogical Society, the Virginia Historical Society, and corresponding member of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. He is a trustee of the Peabody fund. He has received the degree of Doctor of Laws from William and Mary, Amherst, Yale and Harvard Colleges. He was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican, to succeed George S. Boutwell. He took his seat March 5, 1877, and was re-elected in 1883, 1889, and 1895. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901.

Senator Hoar is the most eminent example of divergence from his party's views on imperialism, believing as he does that the Filipinos should be granted their independence.



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GEORGE F. HOAR

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

The youngest man in the United States Senate is Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana. He is a native of Ohio. He was born October 6, 1862, in Highland county, and was sent to the Senate at the age of thirty-six.

Beveridge's career has been one of hard application and indomitable pluck. The removal of his family from Ohio to Indiana was a consequence of serious reverses, and a life of privation and hardship began. While a boy his time was given up to two purposes: study that he might learn; work that he might study. Out of the farm and the logging-camp he wrung the necessary funds for his early education. He made his way through the high school of the town in which he lived by entering the fall and winter terms late and quitting early each year, and by working nights and mornings.

He entered De Pauw University, became the steward of a college club, and in this way passed through his first year, at the end of which he began by merit to win for himself the series of prizes in scholarship, philosophy, science and oratory which, by the end of his college course, amounted to enough to pay two years of his expenses.

After graduation he entered the law office of Joseph E. McDonald, and the firm of McDonald & Butler offered him their managing clerkship at the end of the year. Beveridge's first case before a jury was in the United States court, with General Harrison and his firm on the other side. The case lasted many days, during which the day set for Mr. Beveridge's wedding to Miss Katherine Langsdale of Greencastle arrived, and Judge Woods adjourned court. Beveridge went to Greencastle, was married, returned that night to Indianapolis, and next morning was again in court to attend to his case.

When only twenty-two years of age he began his political career, during the Blaine campaign of 1884, addressing his first audience in a blacksmith shop, and on the second occasion speaking in a barn. It is said that he has made more speeches in Indiana, and devoted more time to his party, than any other man in the State.

The most conspicuous speech the young senator has yet made was that delivered in the Senate January 9, 1900, advocating the retention of the Philippines. Senator Beveridge spent the summer of 1899 in a journey to the newly-acquired archipelago and, studying the situation as carefully as possible, he was able to present his views of the islands and their people most eloquently and forcibly.



ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM INDIANA

HAZEN S. PINGREE

Hazen S. Pingree was born in Denmark, Maine, August 30, 1840. Until he was fourteen years of age the Governor of Michigan worked hard on his father's small farm. Attending school in winter, he gained a fair education. When not laboring on the farm he found employment in cotton mills. Seeking more steady work, Mr. Pingree went to Hopkinton, Massachusetts, and entered a shoe factory there where he learned the trade of a cutter. When the war began, young Pingree enlisted at once, and was enrolled in the Massachusetts Heavy Artillery. He has an unblemished military record. After the close of the war Mr. Pingree went to Detroit and engaged in the shoe business. This business was successful and grew until today his establishment is the largest boot and shoe factory in the West, employing 700 persons.

Mr. Pingree's entrance into politics was in 1889 when Detroit was a Democratic city by majorities ranging from four to five thousand. A Republican Mayor was wanted and Pingree was nominated and elected by a surprisingly large majority. He served the city of Detroit in this office four terms. In 1896 Mr. Pingree was elected Governor of his State.

Both as a city and State executive Mr. Pingree has been identified with various reforms, and his rapid rise in national prominence has made him conspicuous above the average. Often he is named as a possible future candidate for the Presidency, and his friends believe that his well-known sympathies with the people would give him great strength. He has been called an enemy to corporations and trusts, invariably standing on the side of the people. One of Mr. Pingree's most famous undertakings was the allotment of public lands for cultivation by the worthy poor and unemployed of Detroit, during the period of his Mayoralty. Several hundred acres were thus allotted, seeds were furnished and the resulting crops became the property of those who had cultivated the land. The remarkable success of this novel idea resulted in its initiation in many other cities and gained for its originator the nick-name of "Potato-patch Pingree."

During his Governorship of the State of Michigan, Mr. Pingree has continued his reform policies. He is an opponent of inequality in taxation, the improper use of railway passes and federal patronage to influence legislation and oppressive business methods by corporations. In all of these subjects he has been prominent as an advocate of corrective legislation.



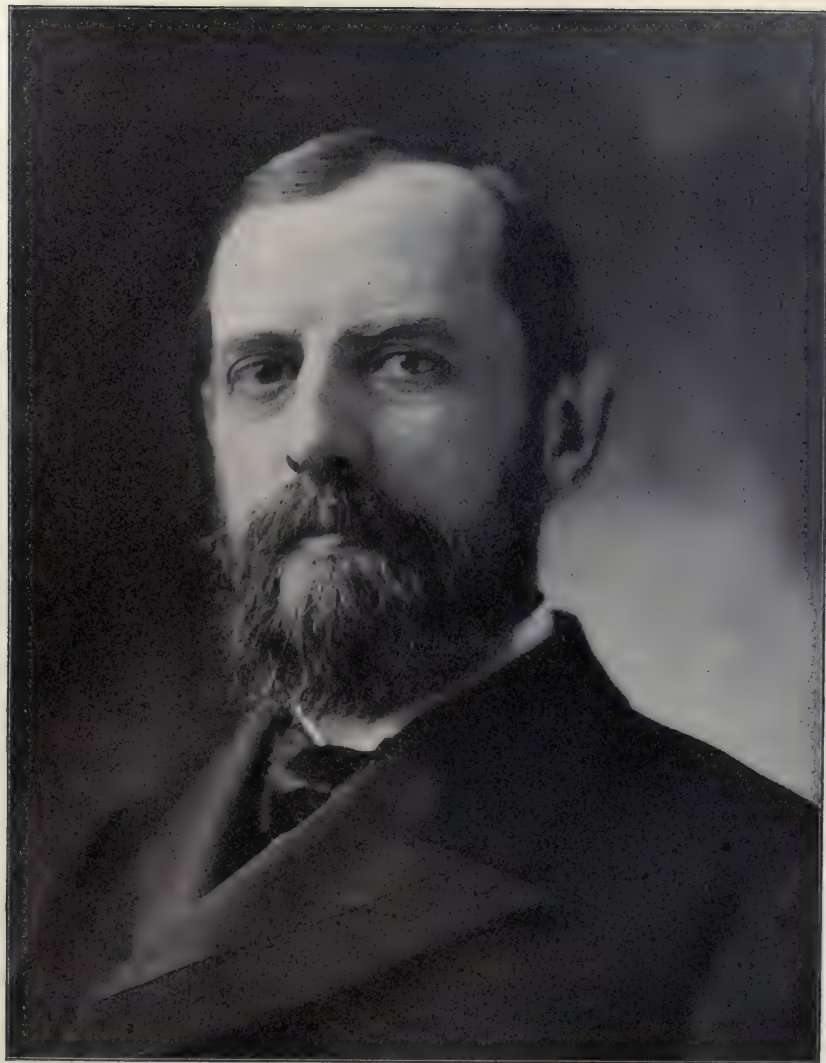
HAZEN S. PINGREE
GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN

RICHARD FRANKLIN PETTIGREW

Richard Franklin Pettigrew, the famous radical Silver Republican Senator from South Dakota, was born in Ludlow, Vermont, July 26, 1848, his father being a merchant of that place. When the future political leader was six years old, the family removed to Rock County, Wisconsin, settling first in Union and then in Evansville in the same township. He prepared for college in the Evansville Academy, and in 1866 went to Beloit and entered the college there. He started to work his way through the course by taking care of one of the college buildings. While so engaged his father died and he was compelled to return home and assume the management of the farm, thus cutting his college course to two years. Young Pettigrew, however, did not relax his studies. For one term he taught school near home, and another winter he was similarly employed near Cedar Rapids, Iowa. He spent the spring of 1869 in the law school of the University of Wisconsin, and thus finished his school education.

In July, 1869, Mr. Pettigrew went to Dakota as a laborer in the employ of a United States deputy surveyor. The route led them to the present site of Sioux Falls, and the young man then and there decided to make that part of the West his home. Having been admitted to the bar at Janesville, Wisconsin, in 1870, as soon as spring opened he started for Sioux Falls again, arriving there, after weeks of delay by bad roads and high water, with just 25 cents in his pocket.

Mr. Pettigrew at once engaged in the surveying and real estate business. He opened a law office in 1872 and has been engaged in the practice of his profession in Sioux Falls ever since. He was elected to the Dakota Legislature as a member of the Council in 1877 and 1879. He was a delegate to the Forty-seventh Congress from Dakota Territory, and came back to the Council in 1884. He was a member of the South Dakota Constitutional Convention in 1883, and was chairman of the Committee on Public Indebtedness, framing the provisions of the constitution on that subject. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1889 when South Dakota was admitted to the Union, and was re-elected in 1895. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901.



RICHARD F. PETTIGREW
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA

EDWARD OLIVER WOLCOTT

Edward Oliver Wolcott, of Colorado, was born in Long Meadow, Mass., March 26, 1848. He comes from the Wolcotts of New England, and can boast a kindred line of statesmen, soldiers and patriots as proud as New England can claim. He is a lineal descendant of the original Henry Wolcott, one of the first colonists of Connecticut, who settled at Windsor in 1630. Mr. Wolcott is one of eleven children of the Rev. Samuel Wolcott, D. D., who was famous as a Congregational minister. On his mother's side Senator Wolcott has a worthy ancestry. His mother was Miss Harriet Pope, daughter of Jonathan Adams Pope, for many years a resident of Norwich. Mr. Pope was a cotton merchant and perhaps knew more about and had more to do with developing the cotton-spinning industry than any other man in New England.

Senator Wolcott served for a few months as a private in the One Hundred and Fiftieth regiment of Ohio Volunteers in 1864. He entered Yale College in 1866, but did not graduate. He graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1871 and removed to Colorado to join his brother, Henry R. Wolcott, who had been two years in that State. Mr. Wolcott first taught school at Blackhawk, a little mining camp, at the salary of \$50 per month, and at the same time was hard at work in the study of the law. He did not like the school room and a little later went to Georgetown, where he edited a newspaper and continued in the practice of law. As his practice increased he gave up journalism and in 1876 he was elected District Attorney. Mr. Wolcott served his constituents well, and rising rapidly in prominence as a successful practitioner more lucrative things came to him. He became interested in mines and railways, first as an attorney for their interests and then as an investor. Finally in 1889 he was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican, and re-elected six years later. His term will expire March 3, 1901. Senator Wolcott was one of the members of the commission appointed by President McKinley to negotiate in the interest of bimetallism with the European governments soon after his election and wrote a most interesting report of his work. He was also temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention of 1900 in Philadelphia, which renominated Mr. McKinley for the Presidency.



EDWARD O. WOLCOTT
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM COLORADO

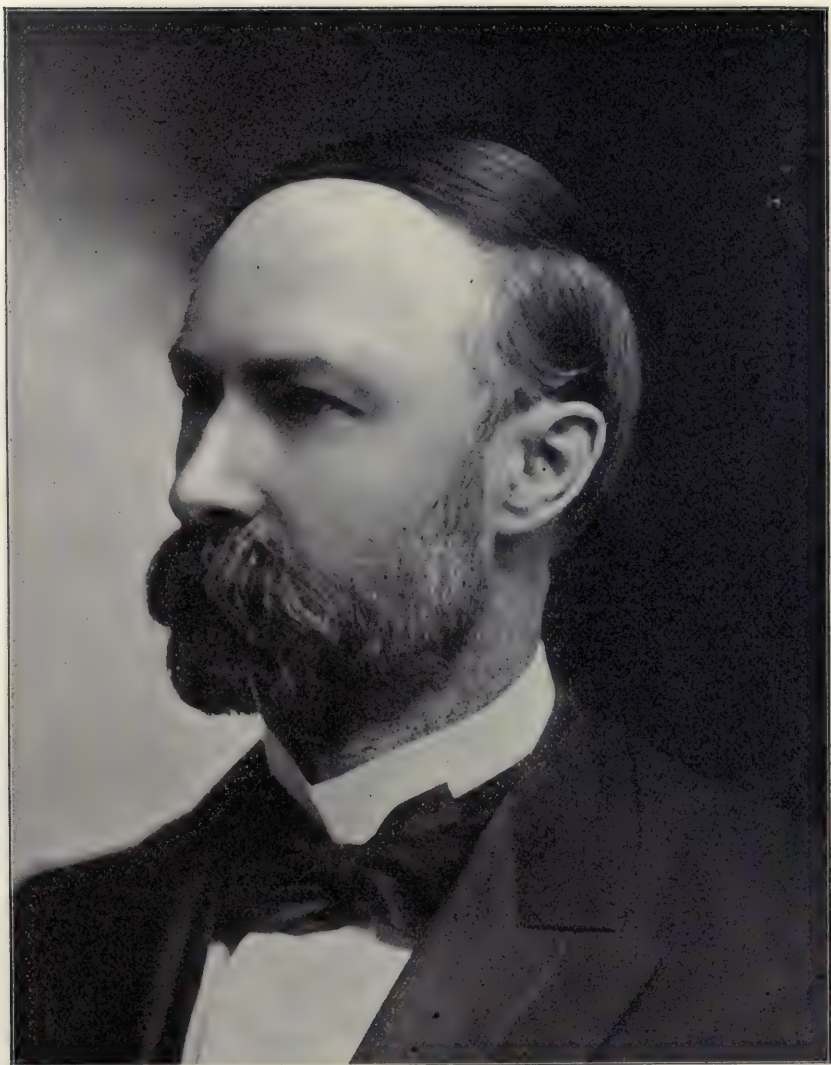
CHARLES WARREN FAIRBANKS

The junior Senator from Indiana may be said almost to have begun his political career with his present position, for although his influence and advice have been felt in the party councils before, he had never held public office prior to his election to the Senate.

Senator Fairbanks, now of Indianapolis, was born on a farm near Unionville Center, Union County, Ohio, May 11, 1852. He was educated in the common schools of the neighborhood and in the Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio, graduating in the classical course of that institution in 1872. Two years later he was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of Ohio, and almost immediately removed to Indianapolis where he has ever since practiced his profession.

Although not an office-holder, he has been known for many years in his State, as a successful railway and corporation lawyer, financier and even politician. As a relief from his other cares he has also been a contributor to the press. He was elected a trustee of the Ohio Wesleyan University in 1885. His private fortune is very large, most of it gained by fortunate railway investments and enterprises. He has been a director of several important roads and president of the Terre Haute and Peoria Railway.

In 1893 Mr. Fairbanks was unanimously chosen as the nominee of the Republican caucus for United States Senator in the Indiana Legislature and subsequently received his entire party vote in the Legislature, but was defeated by David Turpie, Democrat. In 1896 he was a delegate-at-large from Indiana to the Republican National Convention at St. Louis, where Mr. McKinley was nominated for the presidency, and was temporary chairman of that convention. He had been chairman of the Indiana State Republican convention in 1892, and again in 1898 he filled the same chair. In January, 1897, Mr. Fairbanks was chosen Senator by the Republican legislators, over Daniel W. Voorhees, Democrat. His competitor before the Republican caucus had been General Lew Wallace, author of "Ben Hur." Senator Fairbanks was appointed a member of the United States and British Joint High Commission, which met in Quebec in 1898 for the adjustment of Canadian-American questions and was chairman of the United States Commission. He is a warm friend of President McKinley, a strong supporter of his views and policies, and at one time was seriously considered as the "administration candidate" for the Vice Presidential nomination of 1900. His term of service in the Senate will expire March 3, 1903.



CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM INDIANA

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW

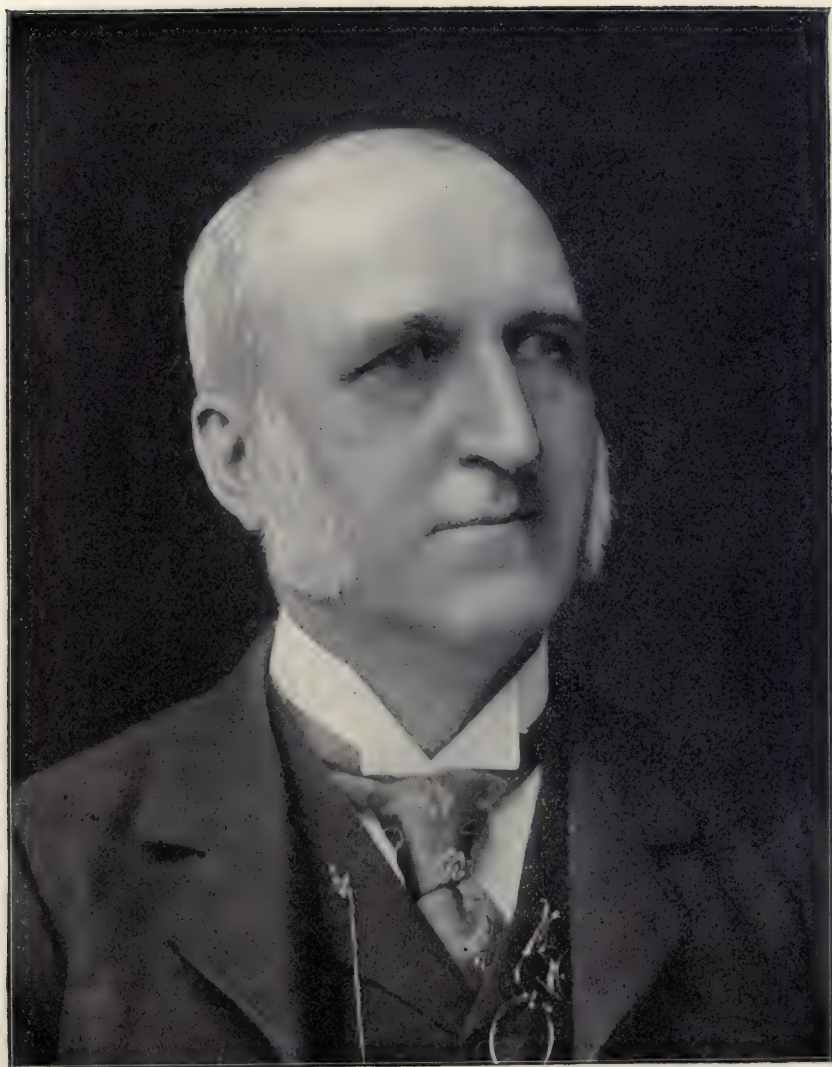
Chauncey Mitchell Depew, for many years one of New York's most widely known citizens, was born in Peekskill, N. Y., April 23, 1834. Mr. Depew's remote ancestors were French Huguenots, who came to this country about 1685 and were among the founders of New-Rochelle. In his school days Chauncey Depew was an omnivorous reader and an eager student of history. He was a delicate child with yellow hair and awkward ways, and while his boy friends played football or went fishing, he found his most satisfying recreation in the companionship of books.

After his graduation from the Peekskill Academy he went to Yale College, where he graduated with honors in 1856. He then returned to his native village and studied law in the office of William Nelson and was admitted to the bar in 1858. That same year he was elected a delegate to the Republican State Convention and the following year he took the stump for Abraham Lincoln. In 1861 he received his first public office, being elected to the Legislature, and served two terms in that capacity. In 1864 Mr. Depew received the Republican nomination for Secretary of State and was elected by a majority of 30,000. It was in this campaign that he first displayed clearly the remarkable ability in public speaking which has since then been so generally recognized.

In 1866 he was appointed attorney for the New York & Harlem Railroad Company and three years later he became attorney for the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company, and afterwards became a member of the board of directors. Mr. Depew's influence grew with the growth of the Vanderbilt system of railroads, and in 1875 he became general counsel for the entire system and was elected a director in each of the lines comprised in it. Mr. Depew's influence in railroad circles has been constantly increasing, until he has reached the position of chairman of the board of directors of the entire Vanderbilt system of railroads.

Mr. Depew was a candidate for the presidential nomination at the National Republican Convention of 1888. He has probably made as many political speeches as any man of his time. He has spoken publicly from one to six weeks in every political campaign in this country for thirty-nine years. In addition to his political speeches he has delivered innumerable addresses on a great variety of public occasions.

Mr. Depew was elected to the United States Senate in 1899 and his term of service will expire March 3, 1905.



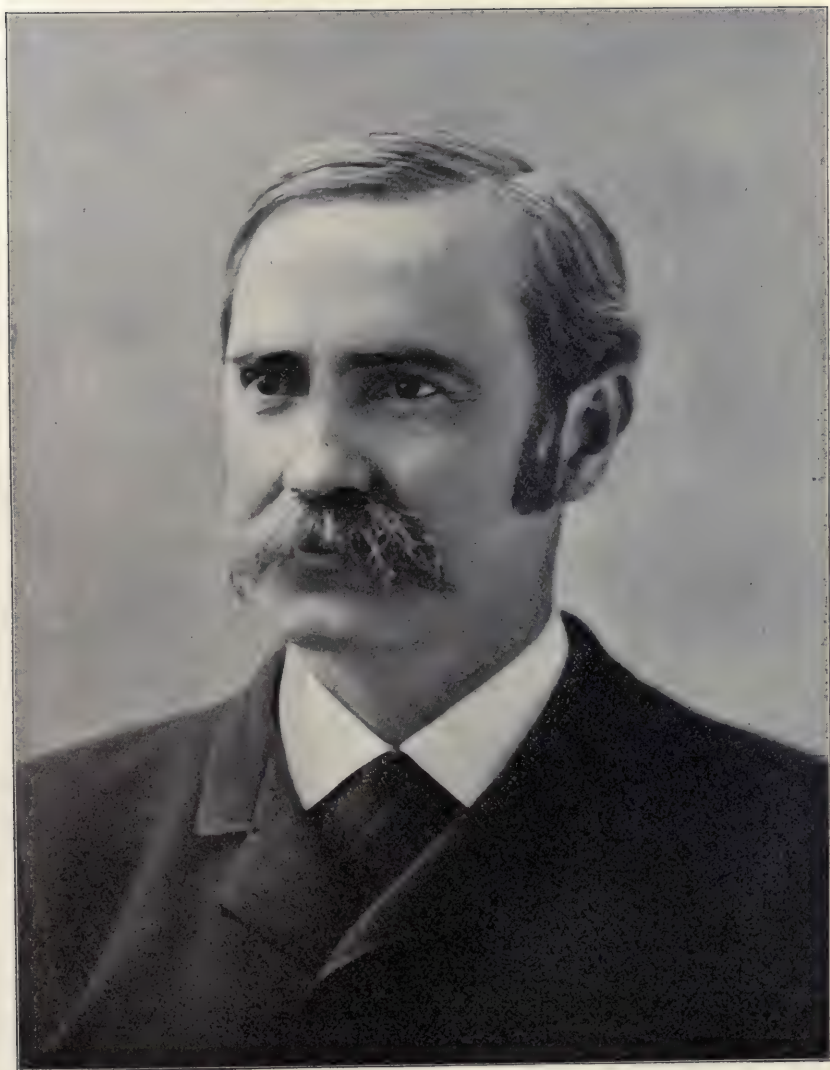
CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

NELSON WILMARTH ALDRICH

Nelson Wilmarth Aldrich, of Providence, was born at Foster, Rhode Island, November 6, 1841. During the greater portion of his life before the year 1858, he resided in the State of Connecticut, at Killingly, Windham County. After having received a superior preparatory education he became a student at the Providence Conference Seminary, East Greenwich, R. I.

Young Aldrich left that institution in 1857, and proceeded to Providence, where he began a business career, which has proved exceedingly prosperous. The Senator resides in Providence, where he still continues his business. He was elected a member of the Common Council of the City of Providence in the year 1869, and continued a member until 1875. In 1871-73 he presided over its deliberations. His fellow citizens elected him to the General Assembly of Rhode Island, of which he was a member in 1875 and 1876, in the second of these years Speaker of the House of Representatives. After being a member of the Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Congresses, on October 5, 1881, Mr. Aldrich was elected by the Grand Committee of both Houses of the Rhode Island Legislature, a United States Senator for the unexpired term of Senator Burnside, deceased. He took his seat December 5, 1881, and was re-elected in 1886, 1893 and 1899.

Senator Aldrich is a man of culture, refinement and energy. The great influence which he has exerted in the Senate is a distinct tribute to his personal qualities. Small as the State of Rhode Island is, and not of great political consequence in its voting possibilities, the representatives of the little commonwealth in the halls of Congress have had to stand on merit alone. They have not had the backing of a New York or a Pennsylvania to give them importance entirely outside of their own personalities. Senator Aldrich has been popular as a man and influential as a legislator. His wide experience in business affairs, and his invariable success in commerce have acted to give weight to his opinions whenever commercial questions have been under consideration. Senator Aldrich is chairman of the committee on Rules, and is a hardworking member of the committees on Finance, Interstate Commerce, Corporations Organized in the District of Columbia, and Transportation Routes to the Seaboard.



NELSON W. ALDRICH
RHODE ISLAND

HENRY CABOT LODGE

Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, who has been a prominent figure particularly by reason of his active work for the reform of the consular service, and who made an interesting report from the Foreign Relations Committee upon the bill for the reorganization of all grades of Consuls and the extension to them of the protection of the Civil Service law, was born in Boston, Mass., May 12, 1850. He was educated in the best private schools of New England and entered Harvard College at the age of seventeen, graduating with the class of 1871. He subsequently studied law at the Harvard Law School and graduated in 1875, with the degree of LL. B. He was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1876.

Mr. Lodge served two terms as member of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Legislature and was afterward elected to the Fiftieth Congress, where he served in the House of Representatives four terms and until he was chosen to succeed Henry L. Dawes in the Senate. While in the House, Senator Lodge was a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and made a close study of the foreign relations of the United States, with special reference to the diplomatic and consular service, and was a prominent figure in all debates upon international questions.

Mr. Lodge has made literature his profession, and there are few public men who have made more valuable contributions to history and biography. He was University lecturer on American history at Harvard College from 1876 to 1879, for three years edited the *North American Review*, and for two years filled the same important function on the *International Review*. Among the historical and biographical works from his pen should be mentioned "Life and Letters of George Cabot," "A History of the English Colonies in America," biographies of Alexander Hamilton and Daniel Webster, which appeared in the *American Statesman* series; "Studies in History," and a carefully edited edition of the "Works of Alexander Hamilton." In addition, Mr. Lodge has edited a volume of prose tales and one of poems. His most recent literary work is a history of the Spanish-American war, which appeared serially in a magazine before it was issued in book form. Few young members of the Senate have taken so important a part in the work of that body as Senator Lodge. At the expiration of his first term he was re-elected and his term of service will expire March 3, 1905.



HENRY C. LODGE

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

WILLIAM E. MASON

William E. Mason was born in the pine region of New York, in Franklinville, Cattaraugus County, on July 7, 1850. Cattaraugus is one of the western counties. Between it and Lake Erie lies the now famous county and lake of Chautauqua. That portion of the country is well fitted for the nurture of men strong of body and of mind.

The elder Mason was somewhat of a leader. He was elected and re-elected as justice of the peace and was known widely as Squire Mason. By trade he was a wagon-maker. In those days there was an "underground railway," and it was rumored that there was a station thereof in the loft of Squire Mason's wagon shop. The William E. Mason who has thrilled vast audiences by his pathetic pleas for Cuban, Philippine and Boer freedom and his fierce denunciation of slavery, was nurtured by his sire in the doctrines of universal emancipation.

In 1858 the Mason family migrated westward and located at Bentonsport, on the Des Moines River, in Iowa. When young Mason was sixteen years of age he was teaching school at Bear Creek, Van Buren County. He says that his days during the winter of 1866 were spent in trying to force the lawless youth of Bear Creek to let him teach them, and his nights sitting beside the stove while his mother mended the clothes that the "young barbarians" had rent upon his body. In 1868 he went to Des Moines and there taught school under more favorable circumstances. He was educated at the Bentonsport Academy and Birmingham College. Mr. Mason first read law with Thomas T. Withrow, of Des Moines, who was a leader at the bar. He took an active part in the election of 1870, speaking in all the school houses of the county. In 1872 he opened the Republican campaign in the court house at Des Moines, and cast his first vote for Grant in the same year.

From this time the history of Mr. Mason is part of the history of Illinois. He went to Chicago in February, 1873, and has practiced law there ever since. Mr. Mason has ever been constant and energetic in support of Republican candidates after nominations have been made and has never been what is known as a "machine man." He was elected to the general assembly in 1879, to the State Senate in 1881; was elected to the Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses and defeated for the Fifty-second. Was elected to the United States Senate January 20, 1897, by a strict party vote. He took his seat March 4, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903.



WILLIAM E. MASON

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS

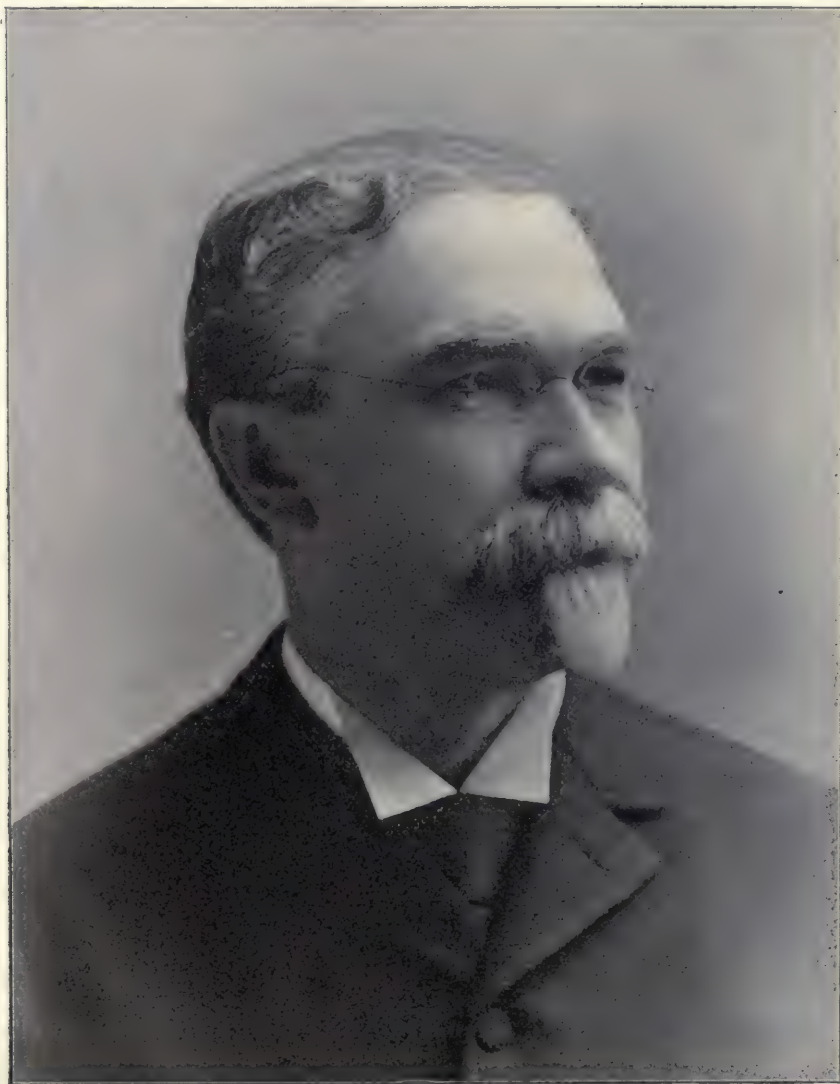
JAMES McMILLAN

James McMillan, of Detroit, was born in Hamilton, Ontario, May 12, 1838. He received his early education in the common schools, and was prepared for college in the preparatory school of Dr. Tassie, who had acquired a considerable reputation for fitting youth to enter the University at Toronto. At the age of fourteen years, finding his inclination tending more to business than to a professional career, he gave the next four years to the hardware business, and in 1855 he came to Detroit where he entered the employ of the wholesale firm of Buhl & Ducharme, a position he left at the end of two years to become the purchasing agent of the Detroit and Milwaukee Railway Company.

In 1863 Mr. McMillan, with Messrs. John S. Newberry, E. S. Dean and George Eaton, organized the Michigan Car Company. Out of the success of this company have come many other business enterprises in which Mr. McMillan has been pre-eminently successful. He is also interested in railroads and steamboats. When elected to the Senate he was President of the Michigan Car Company, the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic Railroad Company, and the Detroit and Cleveland Steam Navigation Company.

In 1876 he was a member of the Republican State Central Committee and on the death of Zachariah Chandler was made chairman. In 1886, 1890, 1892 and 1894, he was re-elected chairman. For three years he was President of the Detroit Board of Park Commissioners and for four years he was a member of the Detroit Board of Estimates. He was a Republican Presidential elector in 1884. He received the unanimous nomination of the Republican members of the Legislature and was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Thomas Witherell Palmer and took his seat March 4, 1889. In 1895 he was re-elected. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901.

At the capital of the Nation the reputation and character of Mr. McMillan had preceded his credentials as a Senator from Michigan, and on being sworn into office for the first time, he was at once given high rank with the ablest members of the United States Senate and assigned to some of the most important Senate Committees. As chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, the great executive abilities of Mr. McMillan have been clearly shown in the management of party interests and the victories won under his leadership.



JAMES McMILLAN
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN

WILLIAM P. FRYE

Senator William P. Frye, of Lewiston, Maine, was born in the city which is still his home, September 2, 1831. He is one of the coterie of sturdy Republican Senators of whom New England has given so many to the service of the nation, men of strong intellect and high learning who have been in the halls of Congress for many years.

In 1850, when he was nineteen years old, Mr. Frye graduated from Bowdoin College, and at once entered upon the study of law, beginning practice in his profession as soon as he had been admitted to the bar. He was a member of the State Legislature in 1861, 1862 and 1867. Public office came to him rapidly, for in 1866 and 1867 he was mayor of the city of Lewiston, and in 1867, 1868 and 1869 was attorney-general of the State of Maine. To all of these offices he was elected as a Republican.

His record in the organization of his party was equally constant. He was a Presidential elector in 1864, and a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1872, 1876 and 1880. In all that period he was the member from Maine of the Republican National Executive Committee. In 1881 he was elected chairman of the Republican State Committee of Maine in place of the Hon. James G. Blaine, who resigned. Mr. Frye also was elected a trustee of Bowdoin College in 1880, received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Bates College in 1881, and the same degree from his own Alma Mater in 1889.

Mr. Frye was elected a Representative in the Forty-second Congress, and, re-elected five times, served for twelve years in that seat. He was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Blaine, who became Secretary of State in President Garfield's cabinet, and took his seat March 18, 1881. Serving this short term to its conclusion, he was re-elected in 1883, 1888 and 1895, in the latter election receiving every vote, with one exception, in both branches of the Legislature. He was elected President pro-tempore of the Senate February 7, 1896, and on the death of Vice-President Hobart became the presiding officer on whom the duty most constantly fell. He was a member of the commission which met in Paris in September, 1898, to adjust terms of peace between the United States and Spain. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901.



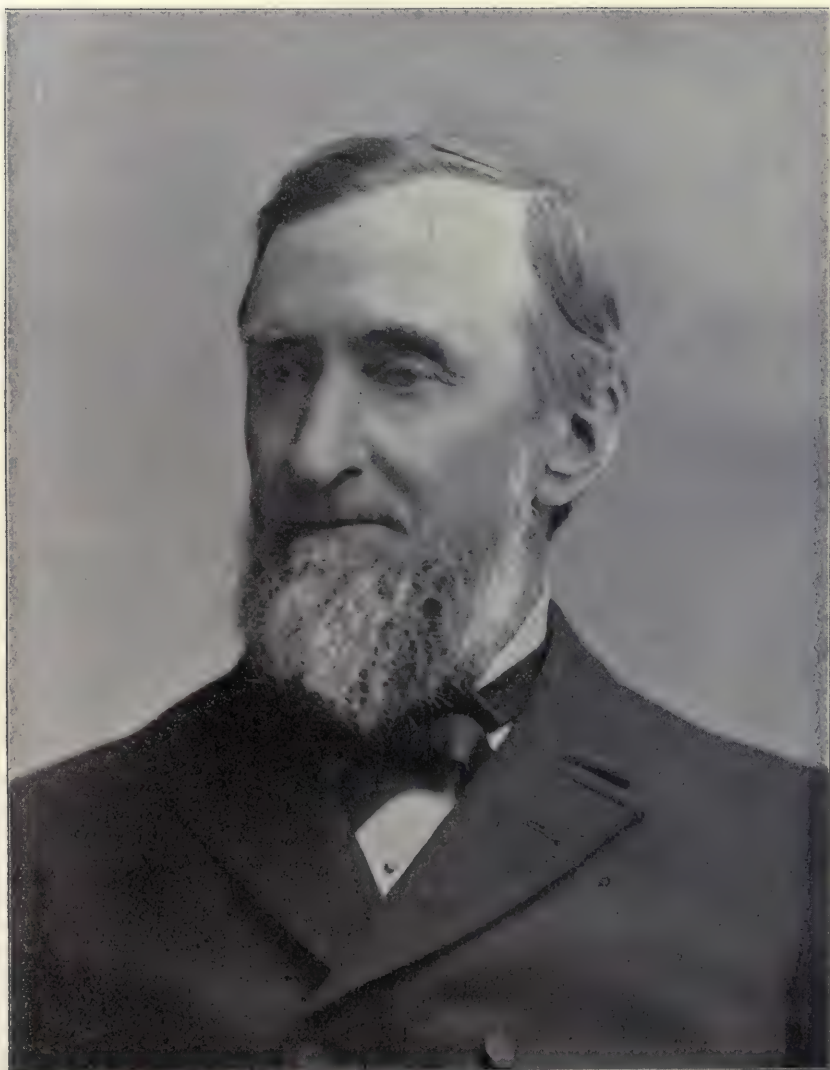
WILLIAM P. FRYE
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MAINE

REDFIELD PROCTOR

The New England States are small geographically in comparison with the newer States of the Mississippi valley and the West, but they fill an important place in the national history of our country and they contribute men of dignity, worth and eminence to the national councils. Vermont with its "Green Mountain Boys" shared in the hardest fighting of the Revolution, and ever since the State has been energetic in its Americanism.

One of the worthiest examples of Vermont citizenship, and consequently of American citizenship, is the Honorable Redfield Proctor, United States Senator. It is an evidence of his own and his family's standing in the State to notice that he was born at Proctorsville, Vermont, June 1, 1831, and that the town where he now lives is called Proctor. He gained his education in the town schools and in Dartmouth College, from which he graduated, and then choosing the profession of law for his career he completed his scholastic studies at the Albany Law School. During the War of the Rebellion he was active in his country's service. He was lieutenant and quartermaster of the Third Regiment of Vermont Volunteers, on the staff of Major-General William F. ("Baldy") Smith, and was major of the Fifth and colonel of the Fifteenth Vermont Regiments.

After the war Colonel Proctor entered politics as a Republican. He was a member of the Vermont House of Representatives in 1867, 1868 and 1888, was a member of the State Senate and President pro-tempore of that body in 1874 and 1875, was Lieutenant Governor of Vermont from 1876 to 1878, and Governor from 1878 to 1880. As was natural to be expected, a citizen so honored in his own State soon became prominent in national affairs. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1884, and chairman of the Vermont delegation in the same conventions of 1888 and 1896. When President Harrison formed his cabinet at the beginning of his administration in March, 1889, Mr. Proctor was made Secretary of War. In November, 1891, he resigned from the cabinet to accept the appointment as United States Senator to succeed George F. Edmunds, and October 18, 1892, was elected by the Vermont Legislature to fill both the unexpired and the full terms. Re-elected again in 1899, his term will expire in 1905. Senator Proctor is a consistent and earnest Republican, who stands high in influence in his party and in the Senate.

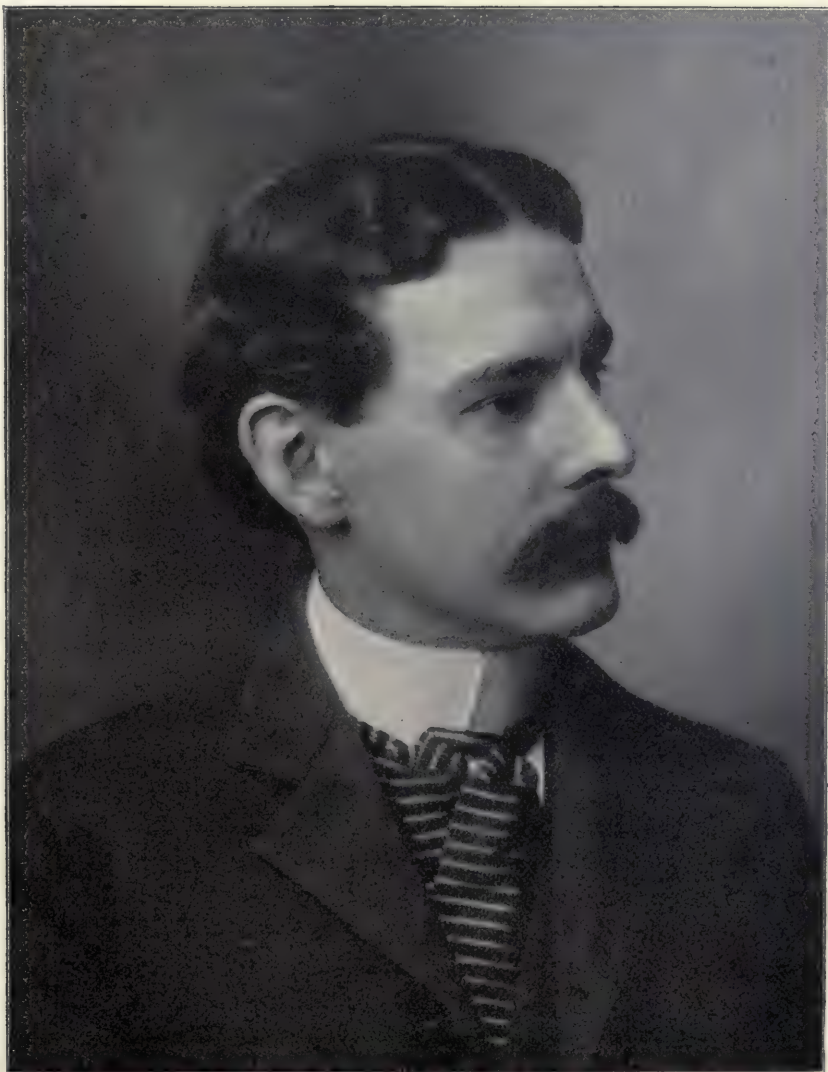


REDFIELD PROCTOR
VERMONT

RICHARD YATES

Richard Yates, the Republican candidate for Governor of Illinois, was born in Jacksonville, in that State, on December 12, 1860. His father was Richard Yates, the famous war Governor of Illinois, whose unfaltering adherence to the cause of the Union is a matter of pride to all the citizens of his State. Richard Yates, Jr., was educated at Whipple Academy and at Illinois College, both of which are at Jacksonville. William J. Bryan was also a student in both of these institutions at the same time with Mr. Yates, though the latter graduated from college in 1880—one year before Mr. Bryan. His undergraduate days over, he began newspaper work, and for a time was city editor of the Jacksonville Daily Journal. He left that paper to study law at the University of Michigan, but after two years was compelled to leave Ann Arbor on account of lack of funds. After two years more spent in newspaper work he resumed his law course, and graduated in 1884.

Returning to Jacksonville, he began the practice of his profession, and at once took an active interest in politics. In 1885 he was elected city attorney, and by re-elections continued in that office until 1891. In the following year the Republicans nominated him for congressman-at-large, but he was defeated with the rest of the ticket. Two years later he was elected county judge of Morgan county, although that county usually goes Democratic. Mr. Yates was a strong supporter of Mr. McKinley in the Presidential campaign of 1896, and in the June following the beginning of the present administration he was appointed collector of internal revenue for the Eighth District of Illinois. Judge Yates is a member of the Methodist Episcopal church and a teacher in the Sunday school at Jacksonville. He has taken an active part in church affairs, and served as a delegate to the general conference which was held in Chicago in 1900. He left the conference to attend the Peoria convention, which nominated him, but returned at the earliest moment possible. On his first reappearance at the Auditorium, he was received with great enthusiasm and hailed as the future Governor of Illinois. On October 23, 1888, he married Miss Nellie Wadsworth, who had been a student with him at Illinois College. They have two daughters.



RICHARD YATES

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY

Senator Hawley of Connecticut offers the unusual example of a statesman of the North who, by birth, was a Southerner. Joseph Roswell Hawley of Hartford was born at Stewartsville, Richmond County, North Carolina, October 31, 1826. At the age of twenty-one years he graduated from Hamilton College, New York, and three years later, in 1850, he was admitted to the bar at Hartford, where he has resided ever since.

Mr. Hawley practiced his profession for six and a half years, and then entered the field of journalism by becoming editor of the Hartford Evening Press in February, 1857. April 15, 1861, Mr. Hawley enlisted in the Union army as a lieutenant. Serving with gallantry through the war, he rose rank by rank through successive promotions for merit until he reached the rank of brigadier-general and brevet major-general. He was not mustered out of the service until January 15, 1866.

In April, 1866, General Hawley was elected Governor of Connecticut. His political rewards and his public positions of distinction have been conspicuous ever since that time. In 1867 the Evening Press was consolidated with the Hartford Courant, of which he became editor. General Hawley was a delegate to the Free Soil National Convention of 1852, was chairman of the Republican National Convention of 1868, and a Presidential elector in the same year. He was also a delegate to the Republican National Conventions of 1872, 1876 and 1880.

One of the most noteworthy periods in the busy career of Senator Hawley was that which saw the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of American independence. He was president of the United States Centennial Commission from its organization in March, 1873, to the completion of the work of the Centennial Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia. Senator Hawley is a trustee of Hamilton College. He has received the degree of Doctor of Laws from that institution, from Yale University and from Trinity College.

In November, 1872, he was elected a Representative in the Forty-second Congress to fill a vacancy caused by the death of S. L. Strong. He was re-elected to the Forty-third Congress and again elected to the Forty-sixth Congress. He was elected to the United States Senate as a Republican to succeed William W. Eaton, Democrat, taking his seat March 4, 1881. He was re-elected in 1887, 1893 and 1899, his term therefore expiring in 1905.



JOSEPH R. HAWLEY
CONNECTICUT

HENRY MOORE TELLER

Henry M. Teller, of Central City, Colorado, was born in the town of Granger, Allegany County, New York, May 23, 1830. His ancestors came from Holland and were among the early settlers of New York State. His father was a farmer in comfortable circumstances and gave him a good education, first in the common schools, then in Rushford Academy and Alfred University. He taught school for several years prior to his study of the law. He was admitted to the bar at Binghamton, New York. In January, 1858, he removed to Illinois and practiced law there until April, 1861, when he removed to Central City, Colorado.

His ability as a lawyer soon gained him prominence. In politics he affiliated with the Republicans, but declined to become a candidate for office until the admission of Colorado to the Union in 1876. He was one of the two Senators elected to represent the Centennial State and in the drawing to determine which should hold the full term he received the term ending March 3, 1877. He was re-elected December 11 for the full term, and served until April 17, 1882, when he resigned to accept the appointment of Secretary of the Interior in the Cabinet of President Arthur. On March 3, 1885, he retired from the Cabinet and on the following day took his seat in the Senate, having been elected to succeed Nathaniel P. Hill. In 1891 he was re-elected without opposition.

Senator Teller always has been reckoned as one of the strong men of the Republican party, who could be depended upon to offer his best energies in support of protection and the other leading tenets of the party, national or international. He has been recognized as one of the ablest authorities on all questions referring to the public lands, which were matters of great importance during the settlement of the West.

In June, 1896, he took the radical step which separated him from his party on the leading question of the day. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention at St. Louis and was recognized as the leader of the bi-metallists in that convention. Unwilling to accept the financial plank of the platform there adopted, he withdrew from the convention, leading the famous "bolt." Six months later he was re-elected to the Senate as an Independent Silver Republican, receiving ninety-four votes out of a total of one hundred in the State Legislature of Colorado. His term of service will expire March 3, 1903. Senator Teller is recognized as one of the ablest advocates of silver in the currency controversy.



HENRY M. TELLER

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM COLORADO

WILLIAM MORRIS STEWART

William Morris Stewart, of Carson City, was born in Lyons, Wayne county, N. Y., August 9, 1827. When he was a small child he removed with his parents to Trumbull county, Ohio. His education was exceedingly limited until he was about seventeen years of age, when, having saved money enough to attend school, he entered Farmington Academy.

He subsequently returned to his native State, where he taught school, at the same time prosecuting his studies. In 1848 he entered Yale College, where he remained two years, when, attracted by the gold discoveries in California, he went to San Francisco, arriving there in May, 1850. He immediately engaged in mining with pick and shovel in Nevada county, and in this way accumulated money with which he began the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in the fall of 1852 and the same day was appointed district attorney, to which office he was elected at the general election of the next year. In 1854 he was appointed attorney-general of California. He removed to Virginia City, Nevada, in 1860, where he was largely engaged in early mining litigation and in the development of the Comstock lode.

In 1863, when Nevada was admitted to the Union, he was one of her leading citizens, and became her first United States Senator, taking his seat February 11, 1865. He was elected in 1869 and on the expiration of his term of service in 1875 he resumed the practice of law in Nevada, California, and the Pacific coast generally, and was thus engaged when elected to the United States Senate, as a Republican, in 1887, to succeed James G. Fair, Democrat. He was re-elected in 1893.

Mr. Stewart is a familiar figure in public affairs. Though rendering admirable service to the country in the reconstruction period and in framing our national mining laws, he is most widely known as the chief leader in the Senate of the movement for the free coinage of silver. In this movement he is one of the familiar and picturesque figures well known to every visitor in the Senate. In the political history of the United States his name will be associated with those western pioneers who settled the great states of the Pacific coast, built their railways, made fortunes out of their mines and developed their latent wealth.



WILLIAM M. STEWART
NEVADA

FREDERICK T. DUBOIS

Frederick T. Dubois is a native of Illinois, having been born in Crawford county, May 29, 1851. His father was Jesse K. Dubois, a well-known character in the State, familiarly called "Uncle Jesse," and a warm friend of President Lincoln. After a public school education at Springfield, young Dubois entered Yale College in 1868 and graduated with the class of 1872. He clerked for a time with J. V. Farwell in Chicago and then entered the State Auditor's office at Springfield. He soon became secretary of the Board of Railway and Warehouse Commissioners in Illinois and bade fair to become an influential politician.

On account of ill health he started for Idaho, taking a herd of cattle to Cheyenne. He began business as a merchant at Blackfoot in 1880. President Arthur made him marshal of Idaho in August, 1882, and he served till September 1, 1886. By his uncompromising fight on the Mormons he got a start in politics and was elected a delegate to the Fiftieth Congress as a Republican. He was re-elected by an increased majority in 1888, and in September, 1890, was named as the first congressman from the new State by a majority of over 2,000.

The young statesman did not have long to serve in the National House of Representatives. The Legislature of the new State of Idaho met to choose United States Senators and the election, which was a warmly contested one, resulted in the ultimate choice of four men for that honor. One, Mr. Shoup, was selected for a vacancy extending only three months. Mr. McConnell got the regular short term to last two years, and Senator Dubois, youngest of all, was the lucky man to get the long term of six years, extending from March 4, 1891, to March 4, 1897. Of course all this was the result of compromise and a combination of the supporters of the three, who were all Republicans. The Democrats and the disaffected Republicans bolted the Dubois nomination and elected Judge William Clagett to contest the same seat. The United States Senate decided the contest by seating Mr. Dubois, and the hard fight was ended for the time.

Before the expiration of Senator Dubois' term, the Populist party had become a power to be reckoned with in Idaho, and the State Legislature elected Mr. Heitfeld to succeed Mr. Dubois. The latter, however, although a Republican, is one of the most active supporters of the silver principles of the Populists and Democrats.



FRED T. DUBOIS
IDAHO

CHAPTER III.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City October 27, 1858. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1880. The year after graduation he was elected a member of the New York Assembly and was re-elected three times. In 1886 he was nominated by the Republicans of New York City for mayor. In 1889 President Harrison appointed him a member of the United States Civil Service Commission, an office which he continued to hold until 1895, when he was appointed by Mayor Strong of New York President of the Police Board of New York City. While still at the head of the Police Board he was selected by President McKinley to be assistant Secretary of the Navy and he occupied that office when the war with Spain broke out. At the beginning of the war with Spain he organized the First Regiment United States Volunteer Cavalry, known as the "Rough Riders," and was appointed its lieutenant colonel. He was placed in command of the regiment on the promotion of Colonel Wood to a brigadier generalcy and led his regiment at the battle of San Juan Hill. Soon after his return to the United States at the close of the war with Spain he was nominated for governor by the Republicans of New York and he was elected governor November 6, 1898. This office he still holds.

No briefer or more concise statement of the record of the Republican candidate for Vice-President can be made than this. Although only forty-two years of age his life has been one of achievement far in excess of most men of his time. From the day he arrived at manhood until now he has been engaged almost continuously in the public service; but no adequate idea of the work he has done can be gained from a mere recital of the public offices he has held. He has never known what it meant to have an idle moment. Every place he has occupied has been a place for duty and endeavor and when he has not been engaged in the public service he has labored with equal earnestness and singleness of purpose for ends which he believed to be of moment. In all this time there has hardly been a year that has not seen the publication of a book

from his pen, while the articles in current periodicals which he has written on timely topics have been almost without number. He has written of the United States navy, of the winning of the west, of critical moments in American history, of the lives of American statesmen, of political and social problems of almost every topic which touches the life of an active American public man. His literary work alone has given him a reputation and a place with which almost any other man would be satisfied to rest. A mere recital of the books he has published is in itself a monument to his industry and ability. His works include "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman," "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail," "The Wilderness Hunter," "The Winning of the West," "The Naval War of 1812," "Life of Thomas H. Benton," "Life of Gouverneur Morris," "Life and Times of Oliver Cromwell," "Essays on Practical Politics," "History of the City of New York," "American Political Ideals," and "The Rough Riders." He collaborated with Captain A. T. Mahan in writing "The Imperial History of the British Navy," and he is the joint author with Henry Cabot Lodge of "Hero Tales from American History."

Roosevelt has cut out for himself four distinct careers, each successful: One as a literary man, another as a ranchman and hunter, the third as a soldier, and finally as a leader in politics which embraces all the rest. It is with his political career that this sketch has to do.

In politics Theodore Roosevelt has become the idol of the young men of America. "There is not a young man in these United States who has not found in your life and influence an incentive to better things," was Senator Wolcott's expression in notifying him of his nomination for Vice-President. And it is this more than anything else that gives Roosevelt his amazing hold upon the imagination and affection of the Republican masses everywhere.

With all his achievements in politics he has been indifferent to his own personal political advancement. He has never sought the "blue ribbon" of public office; has never looked for title or for ornamental position. He has done whatever came in the way to do and done it with a zeal, an honesty, a fearlessness and a desire for the public good that even his political opponents and critics have been forced to acknowledge and respect. He has never held a public office in which his greatest successes were not won in the face of warnings and predictions by his disinterested friends that he was surely destroying all prospects of political advancement, but he has never permitted himself to be influenced by

considerations of this kind and has never wavered in his course. Not many years ago when he was a member of the Civil Service Commission in Washington striking blows which fell sometimes with crushing force upon those to whom he would naturally have looked for political advancement, he wrote to a personal friend a letter which is perhaps as accurate an expression of the principles by which his public career has been guided as can be found. It is an unconscious revelation of the character of the man and is worth giving here. He wrote:

"If a man has political foresight who lives in a district where the people think as he does and where he has a great hold over them, then he can seriously go in for a continuous public career, and I suppose in such a case it is all right for him to shape his public course more or less with a view to his own continuance in office. I am a little inclined to envy a man who can look forward to a long and steady course of public service; but in my own case such a career is out of the question; and personally it seems to me that a man's comfort and usefulness in public life are greatly impaired the moment he begins to get worrying about how his votes and actions will affect his own future. When I was in the legislature I soon found that for my own happiness as well as for the sake of doing good work I had to cast aside all thoughts of my own future; and as soon as I had made up my mind to this and voted simply as I thought right not only disregarding politicians but even disregarding people themselves, if I honestly thought them all wrong on a matter of principle, not of mere expediency, then I began thoroughly to enjoy myself and to feel that I was doing good. It is just the same way with my present work as Civil Service Commissioner. I believe in it with all my heart and am absolutely certain that I could not possibly be engaged in any other work at the present moment more vitally important to the public welfare; and I literally do not care a rap what politicians say of me, in or out of Congress, save in so far as my actions may help or hurt the cause for which I am working. My hands are fortunately perfectly free, for I have not the slightest concern about my political future. My career is that of a literary man, and as soon as I am out of my present position I shall go back to my books. I may not ever be called to take another public position, or I may be; in any event, I shall try to do decent work while I am in office. I shall probably enjoy the life greatly while I am taking part in it, and I shall certainly be ready at any time to go out of it with a perfectly light heart."

It is the zeal of combat that appeals to Roosevelt and not always the joy of success. While he was penning this letter a new field of duty was already opening up before him upon which he was to be confronted with even more unpropitious conditions and with the necessity for performing acts which must have seemed to him at the time to be utterly destructive of any hope he may have entertained for a political future. As Civil Service Commissioner he had devoted himself to the work of enforcing rigorously and honestly a law which was not over popular with the public men with whom he was thrown daily in contact. It was a continual fight for years and he succeeded in establishing for the Commission of which he was the most aggressive member a position and a respect which it had never had before. But the work to which he was then called by Mayor Strong as president of the Police Commission of the City of New York was an even higher test of his quality of honest courage. No man ever undertook a more unpopular task and no man ever carried a difficult work through to completion with less regard for expediency or for his own comfort. He was attacked and vilified, his motives were misconstrued, his wisdom was questioned, but he never flinched. He was there to enforce the law, and he enforced it to the best of his ability. The police force of the City of New York when he retired from his office was better organized, better disciplined, more effective and more deserving of the confidence of the public for the protection of which it was created, than ever before or since. But it would have been hard to find any man at all familiar with politics who did not believe that Roosevelt's political career was at an end, and few men could have been found whose chances for election to public office seemed worse than his. But this was only the beginning of higher things.

One of the earliest acts of President McKinley was to make Theodore Roosevelt Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Roosevelt took this place because from boyhood he had been deeply interested in naval affairs and because he saw here an opportunity to participate in the creation of the new navy which is becoming more and more an object of American pride. It was a subordinate position, but from the time he first entered politics Roosevelt has never shrunk from subordinate place. He has accepted cheerfully and earnestly such responsibilities as have come to him without regard to whether he was to have the chief place of honor or not. It happened that his appointment as Assistant Secre-

tary of the Navy came at a momentous time. He had hardly been sworn into office before the troubles in Cuba assumed a phase which made it seem impossible for the United States to avoid hostilities with Spain. Roosevelt was farseeing enough to appreciate what this meant. He saw that a war with Spain, if it should come, would be a naval war and he devoted all his energies to bringing the naval establishment to a state of complete preparation. For one thing he secured large appropriations to be expended in shot and shell for target practice. It was due in no small degree to this that when war finally broke out the American gunner stood revealed as the most accurate and destructive marksman in the world. He hastened in every conceivable way the work of construction and repair. He provided for the severest tests of the endurance and fighting qualities of ships. He kept the department alive to the necessity of having ample stores and ammunition constantly on hand in the right places. All this was in the way of regular routine. Then came the blowing up of the *Maine*. Roosevelt knew on the instant that this tragedy must have only one result. He redoubled his exertions. He gave orders for preparing the navy which involved expense and labor that a timid official would never have dared to authorize. He accepted responsibility without hesitation. He over-rode technicalities. He ignored finespun theories of official precedence and naval etiquette with the result that when war finally broke out the United States had in its navy the most effective fighting machine the world has ever seen.

More than this, Roosevelt looked ahead and saw with true military genius where the first blow would have to be struck. Within ten days after the destruction of the *Maine*, while many were still confident that war would be avoided he sent a dispatch to Commodore Dewey, in command of the Asiatic squadron, upon which great results were destined to hang. It was dated Washington, Feb. 25, 1898, and read as follows:

"Dewey, Hongkong:

"Secret and confidential. Order the squadron, except *Monocacy*, to Hongkong. Keep full of coal. In the event of declaration of war with Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast, and then offensive operations in Philippine Islands. Keep *Olympia* until further orders.

"ROOSEVELT."

It was so up to the time war was declared, and then Roosevelt took a step which everybody except himself believed to be a mistake. He re-

signed his place as assistant secretary of the navy in order to go out on the fighting line as a volunteer soldier. The President, the Secretary of the Navy, all his closest friends begged him to stay where he was. They assured him that his opportunities for distinction were greater in the place he held than in any position he might secure in active service. They pointed out that it was to be a naval, not a land war, and that he was throwing away as fine an opportunity as any man ever had. But Roosevelt had made up his mind that his place was at the front and nothing could budge him. He had believed that war was inevitable. He had urged it as a matter of national honor while others held back, and he felt that the least he could do would be to get out on the firing line. With Leonard Wood he recruited the Rough Rider regiment, and when he was offered the place of colonel he declined it in favor of his friend because he knew his own lack of military experience. He accepted the second place in the regiment, and it was due to his untiring zeal and impetuosity that this command of volunteer soldiers was fully armed and equipped and ready to go to the front with the very first detachment of troops that landed on Cuban soil. What the Rough Riders did on San Juan Hill is a matter of recent history which need not be recited here. The hardships Roosevelt underwent, the devotion he showed to his men, the courage he displayed in action, are best attested by the devotion the men he commanded now show him.

He was nominated for governor of New York because the Republicans of the State would not listen to the suggestion of any other candidate. He was elected after one of the hardest and most brilliant of political campaigns, in which he took the lead from the beginning and fought ceaselessly day and night. He has made a record as governor which would have insured his renomination and re-election and which has been marked by honesty of purpose, unflinching courage and administrative ability. He was nominated for Vice-President against his own will because this was the unanimous demand of the party.

Governor Roosevelt lives at Oyster Bay, Long Island, where he has an unassuming house near the sea, filled with books and hunting trophies typical of the man. In 1886 he married Miss Edith Kermir Carow and they have six children, Theodore, Ethel, Kermit, Alice, Archibald, and Quentin. The youngest of them was born soon after the outbreak of the war with Spain.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PRESENT REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION—THE GOLDEN ERA OF PROSPERITY IN PEACE AND IN WAR

In 1896 the Republican party pledged itself to restore prosperity to the country by re-enacting protection legislation and clearly and explicitly establishing the gold standard. The pledge was regarded as extraordinary and beyond the power of redemption by one administration, but it has been fully achieved by the present administration. The Democratic party had been in full power for four years and had had its first opportunity to impress its policies and doctrines on the government since the beginning of the Civil war. Its management of public affairs and its legislation had been followed by the greatest and most appalling period of depression known in this country. From great and universal prosperity in 1892 the Democratic party had plunged the country into unparalleled depression and suffering. The soup house was the most conspicuous institution in our cities and the tramp the most common object in the country. There was panic and suffering in every branch of business and every class of people. The present Republican administration has been associated with the return of prosperity, and it claims to have had an important part in the changed conditions of business and labor. It claims to have redeemed its pledge. Confidence began to return to the people immediately after the election of McKinley. The President had no sooner been inaugurated than he called an extraordinary session of the new Republican Congress, and on March 15, 1897, that Congress met and in less than a fortnight the House had passed the Dingley tariff law. The Senate without a Republican majority passed the bill in July, and the first part of the Republican pledge was redeemed. It brought with it prosperity as well as protection to American industry. It changed the balance of trade in favor of this country and gave to our people the largest share of foreign markets, which had been the dream of free traders, they had ever enjoyed.

The administration has succeeded in doing with a protective tariff and the gold standard everything which the Democrats aspired to do with free trade and free silver coinage. It increased the money in circulation from \$1,500,000,000 at the end of the third year of the Cleveland adminis-

tration to \$2,000,000,000 at the close of the third year of the McKinley administration. It increased the per capita of circulation from \$21.53 under Cleveland to \$26.12 under McKinley. It increased the gold circulation from \$490,000,000 to \$786,000,000, and it increased the circulation of silver by \$75,000,000. It increased our exports and decreased our imports, giving this country a difference of trade in its favor amounting to \$852,000,000 in three years. During the first three years of the Cleveland administration our excess of exports over imports was \$679,000,000. During the first three years of the McKinley administration this excess of exports over imports amounted to \$1,531,000,000. The measure of the administration's success in helping skilled labor to find markets for its work is shown by the increase in our exports of manufactures which jumped from \$568,000,000 in the first three years of the Cleveland administration to \$998,000,000 in the first three years of the McKinley administration, an average gain of \$143,000,000 a year.

This administration also took up the work of the immortal Lincoln, and when the Spanish oppressor in Cuba became intolerable, it went to war in the cause of humanity, and in two hemispheres within 90 days destroyed the entire Spanish navy and accepted the surrender of the Spanish armies, and added millions of square miles to our territory. In business management, in war and in diplomacy, the administration of McKinley has taken its place with the greatest administrations in American history.

When William McKinley was inaugurated President of the United States on March 4, 1897, he sounded the keynote of his administration by saying: "The best way for a government to maintain its credit is to pay as it goes—not by resorting to loans but by keeping out of debt—through an adequate income secured by a system of taxation, external or internal, or both. It is the settled policy of the government, pursued from the beginning and fostered by all parties and administrations, to raise the bulk of our revenue from taxes upon foreign productions entering the United States for sale and consumption, and avoiding, for the most part, every form of direct taxation, except in time of war." This has been the motto of the McKinley administration and it has been followed in letter and in spirit from the beginning to the close.

President McKinley in his inaugural address called attention to the depression of the four preceding years, not in partisan criticism, but

as pointing the patriotic course for the Congress which had come into power with him. He said:

"The depression of the past four years has fallen with especial severity upon that great body of toilers of the country, and upon none more than the holders of small farms. Agriculture has languished and labor suffered. The revival of manufacturing will be a relief to both. No portion of our population is more devoted to the institutions of free government nor more loyal in their support, while none bears more cheerfully or fully its proper share in the maintenance of the government or is better entitled to its wise and liberal care and protection. Legislation helpful to producers is beneficial to all. The depressed condition of industry on the farm and in the mine and factory has lessened the ability of the people to meet the demands upon them, and they rightfully expect that not only a system of revenue shall be established that will secure the largest income with the least burden but that every means will be taken to decrease, rather than increase, our public expenditures. Business conditions are not the most promising. It will take time to restore the prosperity of former years. If we cannot promptly attain it, we can resolutely turn our faces in that direction and aid its return by friendly legislation. However troublesome the situation may appear, Congress will not, I am sure, be found lacking in disposition or ability to relieve it as far as legislation can do so. The restoration of confidence and the revival of business, which men of all parties so much desire, depend more largely upon the prompt, energetic, and intelligent action of Congress than upon any other single agency affecting the situation." He further said:

"The condition of the public treasury, as has been indicated, demands the immediate consideration of Congress. It alone has the power to provide revenues for the government. Not to convene it under such circumstances I can view in no other sense than the neglect of a plain duty. I do not sympathize with the sentiment that Congress in session is dangerous to our general business interests. Its members are the agents of the people, and their presence at the seat of government in the execution of the sovereign will should not operate as an injury, but a benefit."

It would be difficult to find in the history of the government an administration that had so carefully marked out its policy in the beginning and adhered to it with happier results.

Two days after his inauguration, on March 6, President McKinley issued a proclamation calling the 55th Congress to meet in extraordinary session on March 15. In his short message to that Congress the President gave his reasons and recommendations in plain terms. For the fiscal year of 1892 the revenues from all sources had been \$425,868,260.22, and the expenditures \$415,953,806.56, leaving an excess of receipts over expenditures of \$9,914,453.66. During that year \$40,570,467.98 were paid for the public debt which had been reduced since March 1, 1889, \$259,076,890, and the annual interest charge decreased \$11,684,576.60.

In the fiscal year of 1893, the first of the Cleveland administration, the excess of receipts over expenditures was \$2,341,674.29, and in each of the three years that followed the expenditures were greater than the receipts.

In 1894 the deficit was \$69,803,260.58; in February, 1894, \$50,000,000 in bonds were issued and in November following a second issue of \$50,000,000 in bonds was deemed necessary and in February, 1895, a third sale of \$62,315,000 in bonds was announced to Congress. In 1895 the deficit amounted to \$42,805,223.18, and a further loan of \$100,000,000 was negotiated in February, 1896, and the deficit for that year was \$25,203,245.70. In three years of a Democratic administration the excess of expenditures over receipts had amounted to \$137,811,729.46. These were the reasons given by President McKinley for calling an extra session of Congress to enact a new tariff law.

The Republican Congress took hold of the work before it with energy and in fourteen days the House had passed the Dingley bill, which passed the Senate and was approved by the President on July 24 of the same year.

The work of regeneration began at once. Industry revived, prices of farm products advanced and prosperity resumed its sway over the land. It was not a spasmodic revival, but has continued throughout the McKinley administration to make good the Republican claim that William McKinley was in 1896 "the advance agent of prosperity."

The Dingley tariff became a law July 24, 1897. Under its operation ample revenues have been provided, as urged by President McKinley. During the period of thirty-two months the law has been in force, July 24, 1897, to April 1, 1900, the receipts of the government from all sources, exclusive of Pacific Railroad items, were \$1,224,326,608. De-

ducting from these receipts the Treasury Department's estimate of collections under the War Revenue Act, amounting to \$183,708,538, there were net receipts of \$1,040,618,070. The expenditures for the same period aggregated \$1,366,663,406, and deducting the Treasury Department's estimate of war expenditures of \$372,000,000, the net expenditures for the period stand at \$994,663,406, leaving for the thirty-two months' operation of the Dingley tariff an excess of net receipts over net expenditures of \$45,954,664.

The present administration had not the opportunity to take up and make good the other great pledges of the party immediately after restoring prosperity through the enactment of a wise protection tariff law. This administration inherited from the Cleveland administration the Cuban question, made more aggravating by reason of the temerity of the former President in not taking hold of it with vigor. Not only did Spain continue her policy of subjugation by concentration and starvation in Cuba, but her officials were indifferent to the demands of the United States that peace should be restored in the island, and also indifferent to the demand that American citizens in Cuban prisons should be released. It was a question that could not be ignored, and President McKinley began an investigation by sending a special commission to Cuba in the summer of 1897. Within six months every American in a Cuban prison was released and Spain began to show more consideration for the demand of this government. In his first annual message to Congress in December, 1897, the President discussed the subject fully as the most important problem before the government. He considered all the propositions for recognition of belligerency, and recognition of independence but rejected them, and significantly referred to "intervention upon humanitarian grounds" as the plan most commendable, but in view of the change of policy by Spain indicated by the recall of General Weyler, and the offer of autonomy to Cuba, he made no specific recommendations, saying: "If it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization and humanity to intervene with force, it shall be without fault upon our part and only because the necessity for such action will be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world."

The country and Congress were excited and pressing for some action but the President was determined to exhaust diplomatic means before proceeding to war. The destruction of the battleship Maine in the

harbor at Havana on the night of February 15, 1898, was the end of diplomatic dealings with Spain, but there had to be proofs, and the President and Congress waited. Then the demand was made on Spain to relinquish her authority and government in Cuba and withdraw her land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters. This meant war, and the administration had been preparing for war for several months and was ready for it.

The United States had been at peace with all the world for nearly half a century, but the administration quickly prepared for war. On March 9, Congress by unanimous vote appropriated \$50,000,000 for national defense to be expended by the President. It was a unique mark of confidence, and the succeeding events showed that it was well merited. Coast defenses were rapidly put in order, arms and ammunition for the army and navy were secured and an auxiliary navy provided. All this was done quietly and without any official flourish of trumpets. On April 11 President McKinley sent another message to Congress announcing that diplomatic overtures had failed to settle the vexed question, and handing it over to the war making power. He closed his message with this declaration: "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop."

It was clear that the President passed over all half-way measures and proposed intervention with force as suggested in his first message. Congress responded by passing the now famous Cuban resolutions authorizing the President to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States to compel Spain to relinquish her authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw her land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters. These resolutions were adopted April 19, and signed by the President April 20. A copy was at once delivered to the Spanish Minister in Washington and another sent to Minister Woodford in Madrid to lay before the Spanish Cabinet. Spain did not wait to receive this demand but withdrew her Minister, broke off diplomatic relations with this government and war was declared on April 25.

The President called for 125,000 volunteers and later for 75,000 more. The regular army was increased to 65,000 men, and within a few weeks there were 275,000 troops in camps and in the field. Cuba was blockaded by the navy, and Commodore Dewey sailed from Hong Kong in search

of the Spanish fleet in Asiatic waters. His destruction of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay on May 1 was the first great victory of the war. Admiral Cervera's fleet took refuge in Santiago Harbor on May 19. General Shafter's army landed at Daguira on June 22, and began its advance on Santiago the next day; the battles at El Caney and San Juan Hill were fought July 2, and the Spanish fleet driven out of Santiago harbor, attempted to make its escape July 3 and was utterly destroyed by the fleet under command of Admiral Sampson.

On July 8 the commander of the Spanish forces offered to march out of the city of Santiago with arms and baggage provided he would not be molested before reaching Holguin, and to surrender to the American forces the territory then occupied by him. This proposition was rejected by President McKinley and unconditional surrender demanded, but the President offered to send Spanish troops back to Spain. On the morning of July 11 the surrender of the city was again demanded and reply made that the demand had been communicated to the general-in-chief of the Spanish forces. On the morning of the 14th General Toral agreed to surrender upon the basis of his army, the Fourth Army Corps, being returned to Spain. The terms of surrender finally agreed upon included 22,789 Spanish troops; of these 22,137 were repatriated at the expense of the United States.

The formal surrender took place on the 17th of July, 1898, and at noon of that date the American flag was raised over the governor's palace with appropriate ceremonies.

The total number of Spanish troops on the island of Cuba, as shown by September, 1898, rolls, was 10,956 officers and 215,134 enlisted men, classed as follows: Regulars, 5,093 officers, 115,355 enlisted men; volunteers, 5,258 officers, 80,504 enlisted men; irregular volunteer troops, 605 officers, 19,275 enlisted men.

General Miles invaded Porto Rico July 11 and entered Ponce July 27, and General Merritt entered Manila August 15. Spain sued for peace on July 26, and on August 12 agreed to the protocol by which she relinquished all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba; agreed to cede to the United States the island of Porto Rico, and an island in the Ladrone; and that the United States should occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which should determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines.

On August 7, forty-six days from the date of landing of Shafter's army in Cuba and twenty days after the surrender of Santiago, that army was on its way home. The war with Spain lasted less than ninety days, and the total casualties in killed and wounded in the army were: Officers killed, 23; enlisted men killed, 257; total, 280; officers wounded, 113; enlisted men wounded, 1,464; total, 1,577. Of the navy: Killed 17, wounded 67, died as result of wounds 1, invalided from service 6, total 91.

Prior to the outbreak of the Spanish-American war the strength of the regular army was 2,143 officers and 26,010 enlisted men. Under the President's first and second calls, April 23 and May 25, respectively, and the recruitment of the regular army to the maximum allowed by law, the strength of the army, regular and volunteer, in August, 1898, was 11,108 officers and 263,609 enlisted men.

In the meantime a vast amount of work, which words fail to describe, was performed by the various staff departments, after day and night conferences with the chiefs thereof, in organizing, equipping, arming, disciplining and advancing the volunteers to efficiency for active field service, and later transporting the various organizations to the camps or rendezvous to which they had been assigned.

There have been mustered in, organized, mobilized, distributed at home and abroad, and finally repatriated and mustered out of the service, and sent to their homes, 223,235 volunteers. There have been enlisted by the general recruiting service 35,000 United States volunteers, organized into twenty-five regiments, twenty-two of which have been transported to the Philippine Islands, the remaining three having been organized there from the discharged volunteers and regulars. There have been enlisted and re-enlisted for the regular army between May 1, 1898, and January 31, 1900, 99,024 men, the present status being approximately 64,000 regular army and 35,000 United States volunteers. Commissions have been issued since the beginning of the war to 632 officers of the regular army, 66 of which were for the various staff departments, and 3,874 United States volunteer officers.

The health of our troops serving in the newly acquired territory has been guarded by every provision that modern science can provide, and the sickness and mortality from disease has been kept far below what was to be expected. The ratio of deaths per thousand of mean strength for the first year of the war was but 25.73, while that for the first year of the war of 1861-65 was 45.87.

It is a fact well worthy of consideration that the Quartermaster-General's office, which at the outbreak of the war did not have a transport that was fitted for the transportation of troops, has to-day the finest transport service in the world, and has transported about 300,000 passengers many thousands of miles at sea without the sacrifice of a single life due to any fault of the army transport service. This service is a revelation in the method of transporting troops, and the representatives of other nations have requested and been furnished data upon which to pattern after it.

In war the administration was as successful as in restoring confidence and prosperity to the business interests of the country. It had the same success in its diplomacy, in negotiating the treaty of peace. By this treaty, signed at Paris, December 10, Cuba was left in trust with the United States, Porto Rico and Guam and the Philippines were ceded to the United States, and by the ratification of that treaty we acquired sovereignty over all these islands. The insurrection in the Philippines has been subdued and the islands pacified. Congress is the only power to decide upon their government.

Porto Rico has been given a territorial government more liberal than any before given to an American territory; Hawaii has been annexed and made a territory of the United States, and delegates from the islands have participated in the National conventions of both political parties for the nomination of candidates for President.

The war with Spain revealed to the world the immense resources of the United States and the resources of the nation to raise armies from the sturdy American manhood and equip them for battle. It taught the world to respect the power of this government more than any event in our history. It taught Europe and our own people to respect the American navy as the most perfect fighting machine on the seas. It made the United States respected and feared in every country, and it brought us the friendship of all nations, for nations like individuals respect heroism and the power to conquer. It taught the old world that this country, without a standing army and without the shadow of militarism over it, could raise and equip the greatest and best fighting armies on short notice, and that independence produces men who are ready for war even in the most busy times of peaceful occupation. It taught our own people that the soldier comes from no class or section, and that the man of leisure and money could shoulder his musket and

fight beside the cowboy and the farmer and the artisan, enduring the same hardships and privations for the defense of the flag. It also taught our people that those who wore the blue and those who wore the gray could fight together with the same heroic effort that was shown in the battlefields of the Civil War when they contended against each other in the greatest and bloodiest struggle of the world's history. It was an illustration of the patriotism and homogeneity of the American people when General Fitzhugh Lee, General Wheeler and General Butler of Confederate fame commanded corps or divisions under the Commander-in-Chief, William McKinley, who had been a private soldier in the Union Army, and it found final illustration in the Philippines where the son of the great volunteer General, John A. Logan, gave his life at the head of a Texas regiment,—a demonstration that all sectional lines have been wiped out and the country reunited in defense of the flag under the leadership of President McKinley.

In peace the army has also had its victories. In Cuba the military government has reorganized the insular police (rural guards) and placed that of each municipality upon a new basis; it has cleaned the cities, and by the introduction of modern sanitation has secured a most satisfactory decrease in the mortality. The customs and insular taxation system have been placed upon such a basis that the island is not only self-supporting, but is enabled to make important improvements. Much progress has recently been made in establishing a modern school system, while the United States postal system has superseded the former inefficient service.

In Porto Rico boards of health have been appointed in municipalities and sanitation has made great strides; the building of good roads has been conducted on an extensive scale. The schools have been reorganized, modern methods and text-books being introduced. The burdens of taxation upon the people have been greatly reduced, while the efficiency of the governmental service has been greatly augmented. An up-to-date postal service is now enjoyed by the people, while the judiciary and police systems are in much more satisfactory condition than formerly. And when the island was devastated by a tornado the administration was quick to accept responsibility and again take up its humane duty. Between August 14, 1899, and April 2, 1900, 11,292 tons of food stuffs, the value of which was \$737,397.26, were sent to Porto Rico for indigent Porto Ricans by the Commissary Department and an

additional \$1,000 worth distributed to them from the subsistence depot on the island. Hundreds of tons have also been contributed by the general public and distributed under the supervision of the military authorities on the island.

In the Philippines, in addition to the former ports of Manila, Iloilo, Cebu, and Zamboango, there are now open to the commerce of the world twenty-five other ports. Initial steps have been taken, under army officers, for the civil reorganization of municipalities. The United States postal service has closely followed the troops. Public schools are being opened, in which the most approved American text-books are in use.

The signal corps has performed its work with unequaled promptness, ability, and success. The telephone, telegraph, and flag have kept the President in touch, through commanding generals, not only with every army corps and their advanced skirmish lines, but with coöperating squadrons of the navy. In constructive work the corps has built nearly seven thousand miles of telegraph, and is to-day operating these lines in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines with an efficiency and economy hitherto unknown in those countries.

These and other questions growing out of the war with Spain have taken a large part of the time and energy of the administration of President McKinley, but it has reaffirmed and strengthened the gold standard as pledged in the platform of 1896; and steps have been taken toward building the Nicaraguan canal, and reviving our merchant marine. It has been an administration of great successes in war and in peace, and it has been equally great in diplomacy, securing the pledge of the great world powers that the open door shall be maintained in China to secure to American commerce a fair show in the trade of the Orient.

Four achievements in the management of the public finances and revenues under the administration of President McKinley stand out with marked prominence:

First, in point of success, is the Dingley tariff; second, the reform in the currency; third, the war loan of 1898; and fourth, the settlement of the Pacific Railroad indebtedness. Perhaps never before in the history of this country have so many important fiscal achievements been accomplished in so brief time.

The settlement of the Pacific Railroad indebtedness is to be ranked as one of the achievements of this administration. This indebtedness

had for years been a subject of fruitless endeavor; all efforts either by Congress or the Executive Department prior to 1897, were of little avail in protecting the government's interest in these roads. In fact there were grave doubts whether the government would succeed in being reimbursed, even in part, of the vast sums expended by the United States in aid of their construction. But this administration has settled with the Union Pacific road, receiving \$58,448,223.75, the total amount of indebtedness, and with the Kansas Pacific road, for \$6,303,000. The result of these proceedings against the Union Pacific system, embracing the main line and the Kansas Pacific line, is that the government has received on account of its subsidy claim the sum of \$64,751,223.75, which is an increase of \$18,997,163.75 over the sum which the reorganization committee of the road agreed to bid for the joint property, leaving due the sum of \$6,588,900.19 interest on the Kansas Pacific subsidy. In the settlement of the Central Pacific Railroad Company the amount due the government upon its subsidy liens was \$58,812,715.48, more than one-half of which was accrued interest upon the principal debt. The agreement for settlement provided for the funding of this amount into twenty promissory notes bearing date of February 1, 1899, payable respectively on or before the expiration of each successive six months for ten years, each note being for the sum of \$2,940,635.78, and to bear interest at the rate of 3 per cent. It appears that out of an indebtedness of about \$130,000,000, more than one-half of which consisted of accrued interest, the government has realized in cash and its equivalent the sum of \$124,421,670.95 within a period of less than two years. No other administration has ever so quickly or so satisfactorily enforced the settlement of large claims held by the government against business corporations.

Regarding the unfortunate conflict between Great Britain and the Republics of South Africa, this government has faithfully observed the laws of neutrality and strictly followed the traditional policy of nonintervention which has always characterized the conduct of the United States with respect to foreign wars. In a declaration offered to the peace conference at The Hague by the American delegation, effectually obtaining the first recognition of the Monroe doctrine by an international body, the "traditional policy of not intruding upon, or interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy * * * of any foreign State" is reaffirmed, together with a new avowal of the attitude of the United States toward purely American questions. This

consistent neutrality, steadily maintained in spite of the impulses of sentiment which often endanger public interests, has rendered more available the mediatorial action of the United States upon the joint request of both belligerents in case an opportune occasion should arise.

In his message to Congress of December 5, 1899, President McKinley was able to say:

"Had circumstances suggested that the parties to the quarrel would have welcomed any kindly expression of the hope of the American people that war might be averted, good offices would have been gladly tendered."

As these circumstances did not arise, no occasion was presented for tendering good offices until a request was received from the Republics of South Africa (March 10, 1900) that the United States should intervene to procure a cessation of hostilities. A similar request was simultaneously sent to the leading European governments, but no action was taken by them. The government of the United States, whose attitude rendered it peculiarly available for mediatorial services, immediately addressed an offer of good offices to Lord Salisbury, expressing "the earnest hope" of the President that a way to bring about peace might be found, and adding that the President "would be glad to aid in any friendly manner to promote so happy a result."

The charge of a secret alliance with England has been made against the administration. There has never been any proof offered in support of this allegation. It has been denied by the highest possible authority, the Secretary of State. In a letter written by Secretary Hay a year ago, when the charge was first made, he said:

"An attempt is made in the Ohio Democratic platform to excite the prejudice of certain classes of voters against the present administration by accusing it of an alliance with England. The people who make this charge know it to be untrue; their making it is an insult to the intelligence of those whose votes they seek by this gross misrepresentation. But as one of their favorite methods of campaign is to invent a fiction too fantastic for contradiction, and then to assume it to be true because it has not been contradicted, you may permit me to take one moment to dispose of this ghost story, as it refers to the department with which I am connected. There is no alliance with England, nor with any power under Heaven, except those known and published to the world—the treaties of ordinary international friendship for purposes of business

and commerce. No treaty other than these exists; none has been suggested on either side; none is in contemplation. It has never entered into the mind of the President nor of any member of the Government to forsake, under any inducement, the wise precept and example of the fathers which forbade entangling alliances with European powers.

"I need not dwell upon this fact. Even the men who wrote the Ohio platform know there is no alliance. But they seek to make capital in this campaign out of the undeniable fact that our relations with England are more friendly and more satisfactory than they have ever been before. It is hard to take such a charge seriously; and if it is taken seriously, how can it be treated with patience? In the name of common sense, let me ask what is the duty of the government, if not to cultivate, whenever possible, agreeable and profitable relations with other nations? And if with other nations, why not with that great kindred power which stands among the greatest powers of the world? What harm, what menace to other countries, is there in this natural and beneficial friendship? Only a narrow and purblind spirit could see in it anything exclusive. It is a poor starved heart that has room for only one friend. It is not with England alone that our relations are improved. We are on better terms than in the past with all nations. With Russia, our old-time friend; with the great German Empire, to which we are bound by so many ties; with our sister Republic of France; with Italy, Austria, and in short every European, every Asiatic nation, our relations are growing in intimacy and cordiality every year; and our friendship with our neighbors to the south of us, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, grows firmer, more genuine, day by day.

"And why should it not be so? Everyone likes to be on good terms with the peaceful and the prosperous, especially if their prosperity is of that nature that other people profit by it, and this is precisely our condition. Our trade is taking that vast development for which we have been preparing through many years of wise American policy, of sturdy American industry, of thoughtful invention and experiment by trained American intelligence. We have gone far toward solving the problem which has so long vexed the economists of the world—of raising wages and at the same time lowering the cost of production—something which no other people have ever accomplished in an equal degree."

This has been an administration of performance rather than of profession, and its performances stand out to challenge the admiration not only of the American people but of all the world.

CHAPTER V.

LABOR AND CAPITAL—THEIR RELATION TO EACH OTHER— THE TRUSTS

The Republican party had its origin in the demand that labor should be free and not slave. It has been the friend of labor throughout its existence. It has enacted more legislation for the benefit of the wage-earner than any other party that ever had control of the government. Its great doctrine since the civil war has been protection to the labor of this country against the pauper labor of other lands. It has by protective legislation maintained a higher scale of wages in this country than has ever prevailed in any other country. It has followed the doctrine that the prosperity of the country depended on the prosperity, intelligence and independence of the wage-earner, and it has written that doctrine in hundreds of pages of the statutes.

While defending and advocating the cause of labor, the Republican party has not believed in the destruction of all organization of capital because in this age of combination for the building of railroads and other great enterprises for the common benefit of the people, the corporation was the only form of organization which could provide the capital to carry forward the work. The organization of labor and the organization of capital have run along parallel lines and both have had the protection of the Republican party. To-day they stand as the two great influences in this country as in every other civilized country. But the greater the growth and development of each the nearer have they come to agreement upon scientific wage scales and agreements as to business management.

Notwithstanding the apparent benefits from combinations of capital, in increased wages and cheapened products, the Republican party has from the beginning of trust organizations sought a way to control them and prohibit combinations and conspiracies for the restraint of trade. President Harrison took hold of this question with vigor in his first annual message to the 51st Congress in December, 1889, urging the attention of that Congress to the consideration of the question how far the restraint of trusts is matter for Federal jurisdiction. Acting upon President Harrison's recommendations the 51st Congress, Republican in

both House and Senate, enacted the Sherman anti-trust law which was signed by the President. This law declared illegal every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, and it provided penalties. This action taken by a Republican President and a Republican Congress clearly indicated the policy of the Republican party in attempting to restrain capital from forming combinations or trusts in restraint of trade. That the act was not equal to the purpose was not the fault of Congress or the administrative officers. President Cleveland in discussing the same subject in his last annual message to Congress in December, 1896, testified to this by saying that while the insufficiencies of the existing laws should be remedied by further legislation, if it could be done, the fact must be recognized that all Federal legislation on this subject must fall short of its purpose because of inherent obstacles and also because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making the Federal authority supreme within its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds that cannot be transgressed. Mr. Cleveland added: "The decision of our highest court on this precise question renders it quite doubtful whether the evils of trusts and monopolies can be adequately treated through Federal action unless they seek directly and purposely to include in their objects transportation or intercourse between States or between the United States, and foreign countries."

This confession of President Cleveland at the close of his administration was the more significant because of his attitude in the beginning of that term when he thought that destruction of the protective system would destroy the trusts. The trust flourished and developed under the Democratic administration and under the Wilson tariff as they had under a Republican administration and the McKinley law. The Wilson free trade law severely crippled all ordinary business and threw labor out of employment, but it did not harm or hinder the trusts which continued to pay their usual dividends to stockholders. This was a good demonstration of the fact that the trusts were not fostered by a protective tariff, nor injured by free trade. It was this condition which was met by the present Republican administration. The tariff could not affect the trusts, but President McKinley and the Republican Congress believed that ordinary and legitimate business could be revived by a return to the protective system, and the first act of the Republican party on

its return to power was to enact the Dingley tariff law. The party had pledged itself to do this and by doing it the wheels of industry were again started and labor employed. Then came the war with Spain, during which Congress devoted its energies to equipping the government for war, and then settling the results of the war.

But with those questions out of the way and domestic affairs again presented for action, President McKinley in his last annual message earnestly recommended some further legislation amending and making effective the anti-trust laws. The House addressed its efforts to this work and not only passed a stringent amendment to the Sherman act, but the Republican managers also presented a constitutional amendment which failed of the necessary two-thirds vote because the Democrats voted almost solidly against it.

The Democrats denounce the trusts as "hydra-headed monsters" and "octopusses." Their warfare on trusts has been like their warfare on the "Robber Tariff Barons," a war of denunciation, not a practical warfare for their regulation or their suppression. The legislation on this subject belongs solely to the Republican party. William McKinley as Chairman of the Committee on Platform in the National Republican Convention of 1888, presented the first anti-trust resolution adopted as an article of political faith. That resolution adopted by the Republican National Convention of 1888 was as follows:

"We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the conditions of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State Legislatures, in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discrimination between the States."

That resolution, written in 1888, is still a part of the Republican doctrine. It needed no reiteration in 1892 and 1896 because Republicans were striving to carry it into effect in Congress, in the State Legislatures and in the courts.

President Harrison took his stand on this plank in his first annual message to Congress, December 3, 1889. He said:

"Earnest attention should be given by Congress to a consideration

of the question how far the restraint of these combinations of capital commonly called "trusts" is a matter of Federal jurisdiction. When organized, as they often are, to crush out all healthy competition and to monopolize the production for sale of an article of commerce and general necessity, they are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and should be made the subject of prohibitory and even penal legislation."

The first bill introduced in the Senate of the Fifty-first Congress was that which became the "anti-trust law" by John Sherman of Ohio. It was passed and became a law on July 2, 1890. It was carefully drawn and carefully considered by the able lawyers in both Houses of Congress, and it was believed that it would be effective. Throughout the consideration of the bill the members of the Democratic party criticised, obstructed and ridiculed it at every stage of its progress. The motives of the author were impugned and the Democrats declared their opposition to it and promised effective anti-trust legislation when they should come into power. But notwithstanding their opposition to the Sherman bill, they all voted for it, and when they came into power they forgot their pledges and rested on the Republican anti-trust legislation. In 1900 history is simply repeating itself. A Republican Congress has sought to amend the Sherman act to make it more effective, and also to amend the Constitution so as to give Congress greater powers. The Democrats excused their opposition to both these efforts in Congress by denunciation of trusts in their platform and on the stump and in the press.

President McKinley has not forgotten the Republican platform he wrote twelve years ago. Two years ago he recommended and Congress created an Industrial Commission to investigate this and kindred questions. The report of that Commission, not yet completed, will be an exhaustive discussion of this question, with the testimony of trust magnates, capitalists, business men, and labor leaders. But President McKinley did not wait for the result of this investigation. In his last annual message to Congress he said:

"It is universally conceded that combinations which engross or control the market of any particular kind of merchandise or commodity necessary to the general community, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, whereby prices are unduly enhanced to the general consumer, are obnoxious not only to the common law but also to the

public welfare. There must be a remedy for the evils involved in such organizations. If the present law can be extended more certainly to control or check these monopolies or trusts, it should be done without delay. Whatever power Congress possesses over this most important subject should be promptly ascertained and asserted."

The first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress was a busy one with great questions before it. One of these was legislation to regulate and control the trusts.

Two measures were proposed by the Republicans. The first was an amendment to the Constitution. This was as follows:

ARTICLE XVI.

Section 1. All powers conferred by this article shall extend to the several States, the Territories, the District of Columbia, and all territory under the sovereignty and subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to define, regulate, control, prohibit, or dissolve trusts, monopolies, or combinations, whether existing in the form of a corporation or otherwise.

The several States may continue to exercise such power in any manner not in conflict with the laws of the United States.

Sec. 3. Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

The other measure was a bill to amend the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to make it more effective than it has proven in the last ten years. The Sherman Law, passed July 2, 1890, was entitled "An act to prohibit trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies." The law contains eight sections.

Section 1 declares to be illegal "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations." A penalty of not exceeding \$5,000, or imprisonment of not exceeding one year, is fixed for the violation of this section.

Section 2 fixes a similar penalty for "every person who shall monopolize or attempt to monopolize or combine or conspire with any person or persons to monopolize any part of the trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations."

Section 3 makes a similar declaration of illegality and fixes a similar penalty relative to such contracts or combinations in restraint of trade or commerce between the Territories, the District of Columbia, and the States.

Section 4 confers jurisdiction for the enforcement of the law upon the several circuit courts of the United States.

Section 5 authorizes the subpoenaing of witnesses residing in different jurisdictions than the one wherein the suit shall be brought.

Section 6 provides for the seizure and forfeiture of articles shipped in violation of the act.

Section 7 provides for the recovery of damages in threefold degree to the injury occasioned any person, including reasonable attorney's fees.

Section 8 defines the word "person" wherever used in the act "to include corporations and associations existing under or authorized by the laws of either the United States, the laws of the Territories, the laws of any State, or the laws of any foreign country."

The bill which the Republican majority of the Judiciary Committee of the House recommended proposed to amend sections 1, 2, 3, 7, and 8 of the bill, and recommends five new sections, numbered 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13. The amendments of sections 1, 2, and 3 seek only to increase the penalties for violations mentioned in those respective sections. The present law declares such violations misdemeanors, and fixes the penalty at a fine not exceeding \$5,000 or imprisonment not exceeding one year, in the discretion of the court. In each of these instances the committee recommended an increase of such penalties, making the violations crimes, and fixing the penalties at not less than \$500 nor more than \$5,000, and imprisonment of not less than six months nor more than two years, so that imprisonment is added in each case to the penalties of the fine.

Sections 4, 5, and 6 of the present law are in nowise disturbed.

Section 7 of the present law authorizes the recovery of threefold damages of any individual who has been injured by a violation of a statute. The committee thought it wise to further amend that section by fixing the minimum recovery at \$250.

Section 8 of the bill defines the word "person," wherever used in the act, "to include corporations and associations." The committee enlarged by amendment that term and definition and added to its meaning, wher-

ever the term "person" shall be used in the act, "the agents, officers, and attorneys of such corporations and associations."

The committee, in addition to the amendment proposed to the present law by specific sections, recommended five new sections, asking that they bear consecutive numbers, beginning with No. 9, so that the first section recommended will be known as section 9 of the law. Under this section it was proposed to enlarge the possibilities of reaching these aggregations of capital and monopolies, by declaring illegal all corporations and associations and joint-stock companies and partnerships doing business in any State of the United States or in any Territory belonging thereto, or in the District of Columbia, producing, manufacturing, or dealing in any article of commerce when organized for the purpose of, or carrying on business for the purpose of, controlling or monopolizing such production and manufacture.

This section also provided that any such concern which by its operations or its declaration in its organization is formed for the purpose of increasing or decreasing the price of an article to the consumer with a specific view of destroying competition shall also be held to be illegal. It proposed, too, to fasten its hold firmly and decisively upon any concern which by its operation, or its purposes as disclosed in its organization, seeks to impair competition, either by increasing the price to the consumer or by decreasing the price to the buyer, so as to drive it from the market, and declare such to be an illegal business.

The same section enjoined such concerns from privileges of interstate commerce and withdrew from them the use of the United States mails. Their products were also subject to seizure and forfeiture whenever found enjoying either of these two privileges of the United States Government.

Section 10 fixes the penalty upon all transportation companies which knowingly receive for transportation any goods from a concern which has been held illegal under the act. This section applies to officers, managers, attorneys and agents of combinations or corporations, as well as to the corporation itself.

Section 11 proposed the opportunity of obtaining evidence to establish violations of the law. The evidence upon which conviction depends nearly always lays within the keeping of the trust itself. Its own records usually contain the strongest proof. So long as the witness claims that his own evidence may convict himself, he has been excused

from testifying. Without the evidence which some record may disclose, conviction may be impossible. Under the provision of this section proof may be obtained from one officer against his associates, and also against the trust itself. And in doing it the amendment threw about the individual whom we thus force upon the witness stand freedom from prosecution.

Section 12 of the bill clothes the various courts with jurisdiction for the enforcement of the law. By its provisions it is clearly stated that the law shall be enforced under the direction of the Attorney-General through the district attorneys of the several jurisdictions. These district attorneys are therein authorized to institute proceedings in equity. But nowhere in the present law is the duty imposed upon the Attorney-General to see to the enforcement of the same. In section 12 of the proposed amendment to the existing law it is provided that—

It shall be the duty of the Attorney-General of the United States, and of the several district attorneys of the United States, within their respective districts, to cause all persons, corporations, or associations violating or failing to comply with any of the provisions of this act to be promptly prosecuted therefor and to enforce all of the penalties imposed by this act.

The proposed Constitutional Amendment failed to pass the House by the constitutional two-thirds majority because the Democrats voted against it. While they have demanded that Congress should enact more stringent anti-trust legislation, they were opposed to giving Congress the power to control the trusts—because this conflicted with the old States' rights doctrine of the Democratic party. The bill to amend the Sherman act passed the House and is now before the Senate. It will be acted on by the Senate at the next session of this Congress and become a law before the expiration of President McKinley's first administration.

Statesmen of all parties when they have come to deal with this question of regulating trusts, have agreed that it is a difficult and intricate problem, and to establish the line of demarkation between the lawful and unlawful corporation, aggregation or syndicate may well engage the attention of the most acute minds.

President Cleveland after eight years in the Executive office expressed the doubt whether the evils of trusts and monopolies could be adequately treated through Federal action. Mr. Cleveland simply ex-

pressed the doubt which other men had experienced. His party had failed to accomplish anything in the way of an adequate remedy for the trust evil, and he gave up hope. The Republican party, the party of Construction, did not give up hope. It began legislating against the trust that sought to restrain trade, ten years ago; in fact, long before that, when it enacted the Interstate Commerce law. As the laws have proven ineffectual in certain directions the Republican party has tried to amend and strengthen them.

When it was found that the Sherman law would not reach trusts which could not be proven to be doing an interstate business, the State Legislatures were encouraged to take hold of the question and enact laws. Within the last ten years, since the enactment of the Sherman law, thirty-one States have passed such laws, and where these Legislatures were controlled by Republican majorities the laws are more comprehensive and effective. The following are the States with dates of anti-trust legislation:

1. Alabama, approved February 18, 1897. Applies simply to insurance companies.
2. Arkansas, approved March 16, 1897. Quite general in its extent and application.
3. California, approved February 27, 1893. Relates to live stock only.
4. Delaware, passed February 15, 1891. Relates exclusively to insurance companies.
5. Florida, approved June 11, 1897. Applies to beef cattle and meats solely.
6. Georgia, approved December 23, 1896. Quite general in its application.
7. Illinois, approved June 10, 1897. Quite general in its application.
8. Indiana, approved March 5, 1897. Quite general.
9. Iowa, approved May 6, 1890. Quite general.
10. Kansas, approved March 8, 1897. Very broad and sweeping.
11. Kentucky, approved May 20, 1890. Quite general in application.
12. Louisiana, in effect July 7, 1892. Quite broad and general.
13. Maine, approved March 7, 1889. Quite broad and general.
14. Michigan, in effect July 1, 1889. Broad and general.
15. Minnesota, approved April 20, 1891. Quite general.
16. Mississippi, approved March 11, 1896. Quite broad. First in effect in 1892.

17. Missouri, approved April 2, 1891. Since amended and broadened. Quite general and efficient.
18. Montana, enacted in 1895. Quite general.
19. Nebraska, enacted April 8, 1897, but there was an act in 1895. Quite broad and general.
20. New Mexico, approved February 4, 1891. Quite general.
21. New York, in effect May 7, 1897. Quite broad and general.
22. North Carolina, ratified March 11, 1889. Quite general.
23. North Dakota, approved March 9, 1897. Quite general.
24. Oklahoma, in effect December 25, 1890. Quite general.
25. South Carolina, approved February 25, 1897. Quite general.
26. South Dakota, approved March 1, 1897. Quite general.
27. Tennessee, approved April 6, 1889. Quite broad and general.
28. Texas, approved March 30, 1889. Broad and general.
29. Utah, approved March 9, 1896. Quite broad and general.
30. Washington, in constitution and law approved March 21, 1895.
31. Wisconsin, approved April 27, 1897. Broad and general.

The Democrats have sneered at the Sherman act as of no effect, have said that no law could reach the trusts without a constitutional amendment, and at the same time have opposed an amendment to the Constitution because it would take away some of the rights and powers of the State. The old States rights doctrine has held them back from assisting in doing what they insisted must be done before Congress could pass an effective anti-trust law.

The favorite remedy of the Democratic party in the last Congress as well as when the party was in power, has been the old free trade panacea. They proposed to give the President power to suspend the collection of all customs duties or unjust taxes whenever he shall be satisfied that the price of any commodity or article of merchandise had been enhanced in consequence of any monopoly, and that this suspension of all duties, or free trade, shall continue so long as the enhancement of prices shall exist.

Mr. Littlefield of Maine, the brilliant successor to the late Mr. Dingley in the House denounced this as the worst sort of imperialism that he had ever heard suggested. He said:

"There never was attempted to be written into the statute books of any State or of the United States a provision so violently imperial and czar-like as this proposition. It gives to the President of the United States the power to enforce upon an organization which is assumed to be criminal for the express purpose of punishment, and that punishment

is expected to be business ruin, the penalty of the law without even giving the offending party the right to be heard. The President brings the charge; he tries the cause; he renders judgment, and he executes the sentence. If that is not Caesarism, if that is not imperialism, if that is not centralization run mad, I ask you to distinguish it. Search the records of this country or any other and see if you can find anything that will equal it. No court within the borders of Christendom ought to countenance for one moment a statute which, under any circumstances, so flagrantly violates the fundamental law as to authorize any man to pass upon the guilt or innocence of any other man or set of men without allowing them an opportunity to be heard. It is only in the infernal regions that they determine a cause without hearing. Yet that is the proposition of our friends on the other side."

This assertion that the tariff is the mother of trusts has been repeatedly made by the Democrats. They have sought to show that trusts flourished under protective tariff legislation, but they do not explain why more trusts were organized under the Wilson tariff than there were under the McKinley tariff law. The fact is that free trade England has had the trust long before it was heard of in this country and an official report recently published in England gives a list of trusts with the number of firms consolidated and the capitalization. In this list the following are some of the largest combinations of capital:

Date and Name.	No. of businesses.	Capital.
Oct. 6, 1888—Salt Union, Limited.....	.....	£2,000,000
Nov. 1, 1890—United Alkali Co., Limited.....	43	6,000,000
July 1, 1896—J. & P. Coats, Limited.....	4	5,500,000
Nov. 25, 1897—English Sewing Cotton Co., Limited..	15	2,750,000
May 6, 1898—Fine Cotton Spinners and Doublers', Limited	31	6,000,000
Dec. 14, 1898—Bradford Dyers.....	22	4,500,000
July 4, 1898—Yorkshire Indigo, Scarlet, and Color Dyers	11	600,000
July 6, 1898—Bradford Coal Merchants & Consumers.	8	250,000
Oct. 9, 1898—Yorkshire Wool Combers.....	38	2,500,000
Nov. 1, 1898—United Indigo and Chemical.....	8	250,000
Nov. 15, 1898—Textile Machinery Association.....	.....	170,000
Dec. 8, 1898—Calico Printers'	60	9,200,000
Feb. 22, 1900—Wall Paper Manufacturers.....	28	4,200,000
Mar. 1, 1900—United Velvet Cutters.....	4	300,000
Apr. 4, 1900—British Cotton and Wool Dyers.....	46	2,750,000
Total	328	£46,970,000

Here is a list, and it embraces only some of the largest trusts in free-trade England, in which there are 328 different business concerns

amalgamated, with a capital of £46,970,000, or \$230,000,000. And there is not the shadow of an excuse to be found for their formation in the shape of a protective tariff. They are solely, thoroughly, and absolutely the product of the English system of Cobdenite free trade, or a tariff for revenue only.

The history of these trusts is given in detail in English official reports and they are regarded as legitimate and necessary in the control of the various industries. They would be called octopusses in this country and their destruction demanded. England has become intoxicated with the trust mania as the means of holding her trade with the outside world by reducing the cost of production in order to meet the competition of Germany and the United States. Germany also has her trusts, and if the United States is to meet these two great competitors for trade in Asia and South America this Government must follow the Republican plan of regulating and preventing the trusts from abusing the power they control by the combinations of capital; not the Democratic policy of destroying all organizations of capital as evil simply because they are great combinations. The two greatest trusts in this country are the Standard Oil Company and the Sugar Trust. The Standard Oil Company never had any protection in the way of a tariff, and the Sugar Trust had its greatest benefit from the Wilson-Gorman tariff law. Upon raw sugar that Democratic law imposed a tariff of 40 per cent. ad valorem. These figures are made upon actual importations, actual results, in 1895, nothing theoretical. Upon refined sugar the tariff was 44.42 per cent., or a preferential in favor of the Sugar Trust of 4.42, or 10 per cent., in favor of the Sugar Trust. A similar comparison for 1898 shows that in the Dingley bill the tariff upon raw sugar was 84.62, and upon refined sugar it is only 77.74 per cent., a difference against the trusts of 6.88, figured upon an actual importation, taking sugar of 96 polariscope test, the largest amount imported being of that saccharine strength. It was not surprising therefore that Mr. Havemeyer was not satisfied with the Dingley law and in his testimony before the Industrial Commission said, "The mother of all trusts is the customs tariff bill." At the same time in the same statement Mr. Havemeyer said that the tariff on sugar should be doubled.

It has been generally recognized among thoughtful men that there are great corporations that are legitimate and useful; that are beneficial and absolutely necessary to the modern development of American

industry. The prevailing phase of modern business development undoubtedly involves the aggravation of extensive capital. It contemplates small profits and large volume of sales. It also requires the consolidation of separate interests and these work out economies. The condition has its advantages and its disadvantages. The advantages are that the consumer buys his goods cheaper than under the old system. So far in this country, there has been no diminution of wages, but an increase, especially during the last four years of increased business activity. The disadvantages are that it eliminates undivided competition, and tends to sink individualism in the great aggregation of the corporation on the one side and the labor union on the other. The Republican party has in this new condition sought to deal with a natural development and so regulate it that it will not become a danger to the people. They have sought to guard the benefits and eradicate or prohibit the evil tendencies.

It is generally conceded that where there is one aggregation of capital, one gigantic corporation or trust which could be called "a hydra-headed monster," to use a Democratic phrase, there are hundreds and thousands that are legitimate elements of enterprise that conserve the interests of the people and are indispensable to the general welfare. But the Democratic party in its platform and Democrats individually in Congress and on the stump make no distinction, but denounce all with intemperate and indecent language. The only suggestion they make is to tear up the whole system of modern development and go back to "the good old times" of the wooden plow and old hand sickle, the household loom and the prairie schooner, instead of the modern agricultural machinery, the cotton and woolen mill, and the railway train of to-day. In nothing has the Democratic party shown its incompetency as a party capable of constructive legislation more clearly than in its position on this most important question of the relations of capital and labor, for it would destroy the organization of both.

While discussing the growth of corporations, it is in place to point out that the American Federation of Labor has also grown at a surprising rate during the last three years. While capital has been concentrating its power, labor has been doing the same. This means that labor is amply protected and is flourishing under this Republican administration. Founded in 1886, the American Federation of Labor has conducted its business publicly, with dignity and with success. To-day it employs twelve paid organizers, besides 470 volunteer organizers, who

work in Canada as well as in the United States. The following is a tabulated statement of the membership of the different organizations named on the first day of January, 1900:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Enrollment reported January 1, 1900.....	1,004,000
Gained since January 1, 1900.....	304,000
Local charters issued in 1900.....	1,500
International and national unions now enrolled.....	73
With State unions, 11; city trades councils, 134.....	145

Record of 1899.

Membership gained	225,000
International and national unions added.....	9
Union labels authorized	29
Strikes won	425
Strikes lost	48
Strikes compromised	39
Charters issued in 1899 (reported).....	2,264
Charters issued in 1899 (not reported).....	600

BROTHERHOOD RAILWAY ORGANIZATIONS.

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.....	34,000
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.....	26,000
Brotherhood of Railway Conductors.....	27,000
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.....	25,000

Not only has this big American consolidation, or federation, of labor issued a large number of charters, but its affiliated organizations have been equally prosperous, as will be seen from the following table, giving the number of charters issued by the different crafts for the year ending April 1, 1900:

Craft.	Charters issued.	Craft.	Charters issued.
Miners	308	Wood workers	40
Butchers	23	Wood carvers.....	15
Brewers	25	Coopers	20
Cigar makers	20	Trunk makers	3
Tobacco workers	17	Carriage and wagon makers.....	10
Tailors	37	Broom makers	28
Garment workers	22	Musicians	12
Shoe workers	24	Bottle blowers	17
Leather workers	20	Window-glass flatteners	12
Granite cutters	12	Textile workers	12
Tile layers	7	Printers	61
Painters	60	Printing pressmen	40
Steam fitters	3	Telegraphers	14
Blacksmiths	32	Steam engineers	9
Machinists	59	Coal-hoisting engineers	4
Iron molders	50	Stationary firemen	24
Iron, steel and tin workers.....	50	Street-railway employees	25
Boiler makers.....	40	Team drivers	78
Electrical workers	20	Longshoremen	49
Sheet metal workers.....	31	Commercial agents	11
Turners	27	Retail clerks	63
Bicycle makers	10	Stage employees	16
Metal polishers	42	Barbers	52
Stove mounters	12	Hotel and restaurant employees.....	13
Pattern makers	15		

Nearly every national or international organization of labor has been increasing its membership, and the past three years have been those of greatest success for the consolidation of labor interests. That this is the case will be seen from the following table, showing the relative percentage of increase in membership in the years 1897, 1898, and 1899. These figures of increase are correct, as they are compiled from reports received direct from the various national unions on May 1 of this year:

Craft.	Membership increase.		
	1897. Per cent.	1898. Per cent.	1899. Per cent.
Agents	10	.....	40
Bricklayers and stone masons.....	20	40	50
Broom makers .....	.....	.....	700
Barbers	10	10	60
Bicycle makers	10	10	50
Boilermakers and iron shipbuilders.....	.....	.....	75
Brickmakers .....	.....	10	25
Blacksmiths	Decrease	5	700
Brewery workers	30	40	45
Bakers and confectioners.....	.....	8	35
Bookbinders .....	.....	20	75
Boot and shoe workers.....	.....	15	40
Conductors (railroad)	10	15	25
Coopers	75	75	80
Curtain operatives (lace) .....	.....	38	12
Cere makers	6	14	27
Carriage and wagon makers.....	.....	.....	40
Clerks (retail) .....	.....	100	200
Carpenters	10	25	50
Cigar makers	10	20	40
Engineers (locomotive)	10	15	30
Engineers (coal-hoisting) .....	.....	.....	300
Electrical workers .....	.....	.....	40
Engineers (stationary) .....	.....	20	30
Firemen (stationary) .....	.....	New	200
Firemen (locomotive)	11	13	13
Glass-bottle blowers	3	5	3
Glass workers .....	.....	.....	19
Garment workers	5	10	25
Gold beaters .....	.....	New	Doubled
Horseshoers	10	10	25
Hatters .....	.....	.....	25
Iron molders	10	15	25
Iron, steel and tin workers.....	10	20	60
Longshoremen	30	30	50
Leather workers	30	75	100
Meat cutters and butcher workmen.....	New	100	200
Musicians	80	4	16
Metal workers .....	.....	30	100
Machinists	10	25	80
Miners	40	100	300
Potters	20	30	200
Steel and copper plate printers.....	10	7	10
Plumbers, gas and steam fitters.....	5	10	40
Paper makers	15	25	30

Craft.	Membership increase.		
	1897. Per cent.	1898. Per cent.	1899. Per cent.
Printers	15	20	40
Pattern makers		40	300
Stonecutters			10
Spinners (cotton mule)			8
Stone mounters		25	25
Stage employees	50	25	25
Street-railway employees	5	10	18
Seamen	20	25	60
Tailors		5	15
Tin-plate workers			70
Telegraphers		10	25
Tile layers			25
Trackmen (railroad)	10	15	25
Textile workers		10	25
Tobacco workers	15	40	60
Upholsterers		12	30
Waiters, cooks, bartenders		New	200
Wood carvers	5	15	50
Wood workers	15	40	70

There has been a corresponding increase in the wages paid under what the Democrats call the "bulwark of trusts," the Dingley tariff law. The following table compiled from the reports of national and international unions, made in May, 1900, shows the per cent. of increase in wages of 59 different trades or crafts in the years 1897, 1898, and 1899:

INCREASE OF WAGES IN 1897, 1898 AND 1899, AS REPORTED BY LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Crafts.	Wage increase.		
	1897. Per cent.	1898. Per cent.	1899. Per cent.
Agents	5	10	20
Bricklayers and stone masons.....	10	12	25
Broom makers			10
Bicycle workers		10	20
Boiler makers and iron shipbuilders.....		10	25
Brickmakers			10
Blacksmiths			10
Brewery workmen		10	15
Bakers			15
Bookbinders	5	10	25
Boot and shoe workers.....		5	15
Conductors (railroad)	Very substantial increase.		
Coopers	3	4	10
Curtain (lace) operators			15
Core makers	8	12	25
Carpenters	5	8	15
Cigar makers		6	10
Engineers (locomotive)	Small	12	30
Engineers (coal-holsting)		10	50
Electrical workers		25	25
Engineers (stationary)		20	30
Firemen (stationary)			15
Firemen (locomotive)			10

INCREASE OF WAGES—CONTINUED.

Crafts.	Wage increase.		
	1897. Per cent.	1898. Per cent.	1899. Per cent.
Glass-bottle blowers			8
Glass workers			3
Horseshoers	10	10	10
Iron molders			10
Iron, steel and tin workers.....	5	8	17
Longshoremen	10	5	15
Leather workers	15	15	15
Meat cutters and butcher workmen.....			25
Metal workers			10
Machinists	10	15	40
Mine workers	12	26	40
Potters	12½		
Plumbers, gas and steam fitters.....			5
Paper makers			10
Printers		10	30
Pattern makers	5	15	30
Stonecutters			5
Spinners (cotton mule)			22
Stove mounters		5	10
Stage employees	25	200	300
Street railway employees.....		5-10	12
Seamen	5	12	33
Tailors			10
Tin plate workers.....			15
Trunk makers		10	15
Tile layers			10
Railroad laborers	5	7	10
Textile workers			12½
Tobacco workers		8	15
Upholsterers	3	10	20
Waiters and cooks.....	5	10	10
Wood carvers		5	7½
Wood workers	5	8	15

Not only have wages been increased, but the reports of the labor unions show that the percentage of increase in employment of labor has been on an average of 100 per cent. in each of the years of this administration. The industrial situation in this country was never more satisfactory than in the last year of McKinley's first administration.

While the Democratic party is crying, "Down with the Trusts!" the combinations of capital and the labor organizations are drawing closer together, and coming to a better understanding in regard to the relations of labor and capital. The tendency is to employ arbitration and conciliation in the settlement of differences. This method has long been in vogue between the railways and their employes, with the steel-makers, with the wire-nail makers, with tin-plate manufacturers, with the steel-beam producers, with the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and

Tin Workers, with the newspaper publishers, with the employing book and job printers, and with the International Typographical Union. The more that labor and capital concentrate their interests individually, so much the more are they endeavoring to concentrate their interests collectively. Large and small labor unions, instead of fighting industrial combination, find it to their interest to join hand in hand with them. There is no better combination in the United States to-day than the American Federation of Labor.

Speaking for the vast army of wage-earners employed in the iron, steel, and tin industry, Theodore Schaffer, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, before the Federal Industrial Commission, has declared that the effect of trusts had been beneficial to them. "As a general rule," he said, "he believed that the members of his organization would prefer to deal with combinations and large corporations rather than with smaller independent mills." His experience was that he always received fair treatment in negotiating with these combinations, and he was certain "they did not prevent competition."

The records of the American Federation of Labor show that the organization of labor has kept pace with the organization of capital, and that labor has been able to take care of itself. Wages and employment have greatly increased under the present Republican administration, and no better witness to this fact can be summoned than Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. In his report to the American Confederation of Labor Convention, December 11, 1893, Mr. Gompers said:

1893.

Since August of this year we have been in the greatest industrial depression this country has ever experienced. It is no exaggeration to say that more than 3,000,000 of our fellow-toilers throughout the country are without employment and have been so since the time named. This lamentable industrial condition is attributed by many to various causes, and it seems to me that the accurate statement of them here is both requisite and appropriate, so that we may be better enabled to so frame our legislation that it may tend to a proper solution of the problem dependent upon the wage-workers for solution.

Never in the history of the world has so large a number of people

vainly sought for an opportunity to earn a livelihood and contribute to the support of their fellows. In a society where such abnormal conditions prevail there must of necessity be something wrong at the basic foundation.

In a signed article published in a New York magazine on January 1, 1898, Mr. Gompers gave this as the condition of labor in 1897:

1897.

"That terrible period for the wage-earners of this country which began in 1893 and which has left behind it such a record of horror, hunger and misery practically ended with the dawn of the year 1897. Wages had been steadily forced down from 1893 till toward the end of 1895, and it was variously estimated that between two million and two and a half million wage-earners were unemployed.

"It is agreed by all that the wage-earners are the principal consumers of American products, and it necessarily follows that a reduction in wages involves a diminution in the power of consumption, and consequently a proportionate decrease in production, and, naturally, also in the force of labor required for the production. A reduction of wages, therefore, results in an increase in the army of the unemployed, and any circumstance or combination of circumstances that will check reduction in wages, and hence the diminution of consumption by the masses, is a humane act, based on the soundest laws of economics and of progress."

In his report to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Detroit, on December 11, 1899, Mr. Gompers said this of the labor condition of last year:

1899.

"The revival of industry which we have witnessed within the past year is one for general congratulation, and it should be our purpose to endeavor to prolong this era of more general employment and industrial activity. In this effort no power is so potent as organized labor, if we but follow a right and practical course.

"It is beyond question that the wages of the organized workers have been increased, and in many instances the hours of labor either reduced or at least maintained.

"The reports which your officers are enabled to submit to this con-

vention, so far as the growth and progress of our movement during the past year are concerned, is of a most gratifying character. At last we are realizing some of the fruits of the years of unceasing sacrifice, devotion, and uninterrupted work of our fellow-unionists."

It is but right to state here that Mr. Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, is now, and always has been, an uncompromising Democrat. His frank and unsolicited testimony to the better conditions of labor under a Republican administration should, therefore, have some influence with Democratic voters who study this question. His words speak volumes for Republican policy and for Republican administration. They show clearly, and without the possibility of a doubt, that this administration has made hives of industry out of the Democratic haunts of idleness that were created under the Democratic administration of President Cleveland, when both the House and the United States Senate were under control of the Democratic party.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MONEY QUESTION--SOUND MONEY NECESSARY TO WAGE EARNERS.

The people of the United States, after mature deliberation four years ago, decided that they wanted to continue the use of the gold standard of money because gold is the best and most unchangeable metallic money in the world, good wherever it goes, its intrinsic value equaling its coinage value, and current in all countries regardless of the stamp it bears.

The United States is on a gold basis. Gold is the standard of value. If there was any doubt of this before there can be none since the passage of the act of March 14, 1900. The title of this act is: "An act to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined in the United States, and for other purposes."

That act fixed by law the standard of value as gold. This was not, however, an act of Congress to create a new value or new duty for gold. It was simply the legal recognition of a commercial fact that had been undisputed for many years. Gold has been the measuring standard of value in this country, because gold has the same fixed value either as junk or money. Its value cannot be destroyed. Since it is the metal of least varying value the world over it has become the money standard of all commercial nations, including the United States. The law of March 14, 1900, did not change the standard in this country. It confirmed by law what had been the recognized fact in business transactions by men of all parties. The law was made necessary by the attacks upon our money and the credit of the government by the Democratic party in the campaign of 1896 when that party wrote into its platform: "We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

This was a demand for what had never been, and it was as great an attack upon our credit as would be a demand for repudiation. It meant repudiation of a part of our national debt.

The United States government in its early history tried to maintain

the double standard, but for seventy-five years this has been a legal fiction. Gold has been the standard of value in all commercial and business transactions of the government and the people. Gold has been the money secured by issuing bonds by the government, and gold has been the standard in private contracts. It has maintained a fixed value which is the same the world over. An ounce of gold has the same value in Europe, Asia and America whether coined into money, kept in bars as it comes from the stamp mill, or sold as old gold from discarded jewelry. The stamp of the United States mint adds no value to the gold in the coin. There is not a country in the world where they have bimetallism, because it is impossible for one nation to maintain bimetallism alone. Monometallism is the universal rule. There are countries with gold monometallism and other countries with silver monometallism. Those countries having the gold standard are our commercial rivals. Those having a silver standard are our commercial inferiors. We have nothing to fear from them, and nothing to gain by adopting their standard of monetary value any more than we have by adopting their standards of civilization and morality. The poorest paid labor in the world is in China and Mexico, where they have the silver standard.

When in 1792 Congress passed the first coinage act it made the dollar the unit of value, and it provided that the proportion of gold to silver should be as 15 to 1. Both metals were to be used, but Congress did not propose to make money but coin it for the holders of the precious metals. Coinage was free. It was soon after found that the two metals would not circulate together at this ratio. Silver had been overvalued and gold was worth more as bullion than as coin at the ratio provided by law. Silver alone went to the mints and gold was exported to Europe where it was more valuable than at home as money. There was bimetallism only in theory. In fact we had silver money. In 1834 and in 1837 Congress changed the ratio and made it 16 to 1, but this legal ratio did not conform to the commercial ratio. By these acts gold was overvalued at the mint and gold went to the mint while silver was attracted to Europe by a French ratio which declared that one ounce of gold was only worth $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver. The difference of half an ounce kept silver from going to the United States mint. These acts of 1834 and 1837 demonetized silver as the act of 1792 had demonetized gold. The demonetization of silver was accomplished under the administrations of Jackson and VanBuren, both Democrats. The country was placed on

a gold basis. Financial writers of reputation have held that the country has been on the gold basis ever since that time.

The "crime of 1873" was therefore committed forty years before that date—in 1834, during the administration of Andrew Jackson, one of the patron saints of the Democracy. That act of 1834 provided that the eagle should contain 232 grains of pure gold instead of $247\frac{1}{2}$ grains as under the act of 1792, and in this way it fixed the ratio of 16 to 1, which Democrats still claim is the legal ratio. But in fixing this ratio between gold and silver in 1834 Congress, as has been said, overvalued gold, making it more valuable at the mint than in the commercial market, and demonetized silver by making it less valuable at the mint than in Europe, driving it from the mint. Sixteen ounces of silver were worth more in the markets of the world than one ounce of gold, and consequently the owner of silver bullion preferred to sell it rather than take it to the mint and coin it. The effect was to drive silver out of circulation and bring back gold. The two metals would not circulate together at the ratio of 16 to 1. It was an illustration of the correctness of the Gresham law 200 years old, that when two pieces of metallic money of the same denomination and the same nominal or mint value, but of different intrinsic or market values, are in circulation, the one of least intrinsic value will continue to circulate while the other will be withdrawn, and being of greater market value, will be melted, hoarded or exported. The experience of history is that men will pay out the piece of money of least value and keep that which is of greater value.

In his report to the Secretary of the Treasury for 1876, Comptroller Knox, in speaking of the effect of this act on silver, said: "The act of June 28, 1834, which reduced the gold standard about six and one-fourth per cent., practically demonetized the silver coinage. Previous to the date of the passage of that act American gold and silver coins of all denominations were equally a legal tender, and the silver coins of less denomination than one dollar were chiefly in use, only \$1,369,517 in silver dollars having been issued from the mint at that date. The Act of 1834 overvalued the gold coinage, driving from the country the full-weight silver coins previously in circulation; and it may be confidently stated that from 1834 to 1873 no silver dollar pieces have been presented at any custom-house in payment of duties."

The act of 1837 reduced the weight of the silver dollar to $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains

ly reducing the amount of alloy. It did not change the weight of the silver in the dollar. It did not bring silver to the mint.

In his report in 1851 Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury, called attention to the inequality of the metals at the existing ratio.

He said: "The relation of gold to silver in the legal coinage of the United States is as 1 to 15.988; in Great Britain, as 1 to 14.288; and in France, as 1 to 15.499. Thus it will be seen that one ounce of pure gold will, in the United States, be equal to that produced from the coinage of 15.988 ounces of pure silver; in Great Britain, it will be equal to that derived from only 14.288 ounces pure silver; and in France, to 15.499 ounces. So soon, therefore, as the state of our foreign commerce, as is now the case, requires an exportation of specie, it is obvious that our silver coin must be exported whilst it can be procured, till the demand for exportation is supplied."

The result of the secretary's recommendations was the passage of the act of 1853. It reduced the weight of the half-dollar to 192 grains, and the quarter-dollar, dime and half-dime, in proportion, but it made no mention of the silver dollar. This act also provided that "No deposits for coinage into half-dollar, quarter-dollar, dime and half-dime shall hereafter be received, other than those made by the treasurer of the mint as herein authorized, and upon account of the United States." It did not provide for free coinage of silver. This coinage was on account of the government not the holder of silver. These subsidiary silver coins were limited in their legal tender power to five dollars. It did not remonetize silver. And Mr. Dunham, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, said in the debate:

"We propose, so far as these coins are concerned, to make silver subservient to the gold coin of the country. We intend to do what the best writers on political economy have approved; what experience, where the experiment has been tried, has demonstrated to be the best, and what the committee believe to be necessary and proper—to make but one standard of currency, and to make all others subservient to it. We mean to make the gold standard coin, and to make these new silver coins applicable and convenient, not for large, but for small transactions."

The next coinage act was that of 1873—"the crime of 1873," as Mr. Bryan calls it. It did not change the position of silver. It did not change the amount of silver in the half-dollar, quarter and dime. It did not pro-

vide for the coinage of the dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains because that piece had gone out of existence 40 years before. It did provide for a trade dollar of 420 grains of silver for the benefit of the people of California in their trade with China, which has the silver standard. It did not change the amount of gold in the Eagle, but it fixed the standard weight of the dollar at 25 8-10 grains and made it the unit of value. The Act of 1873, therefore, did no more than write into the law what had been in practical operation for forty years, and had been ignored in previous laws. It dropped the silver dollar which had not been coined since 1835, and limited the coinage of silver, except for trade dollars, to the pleasure of the government as did the act of 1853. It is hardly creditable to a great political party seeking the responsibility of directing the government that it should try to make the American people regard this act as a great moral crime. One-half the metallic money was not destroyed by that act for it had never had any existence. The act of 1873 did not demonetize silver. Silver had been demonetized forty years before in the administration of Andrew Jackson. There was no more demand for the coinage of the silver dollar in 1873 than there had been from 1835 to that time. Silver was still more valuable in the market than at the mint in 1873 and the holder of silver bullion had no object in having it coined. The average value of the $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of silver which went into a silver dollar was 1.004 in 1873, and there had not been a time since 1835 when it was not more valuable than gold at the ratio of 16 to 1. The silver men did not begin to complain of the "crime of '73" until several years later when the enormous output of the silver mines sent silver down in the market and 16 ounces of silver were less valuable than one ounce of gold. This fall in the price of silver began in 1874 when the average price of the silver necessary to make a silver dollar was 98.8, or one and two-tenths cents less than a dollar.

The price of silver has continued to fall, until to-day it is worth less than one-half what it would represent if coined into dollars, and the silver owner would have profited by free coinage in every year since the passage of the act of 1873. Considering the weakness of human nature it is easy to see why the silver owners demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

By the acts of 1875 and 1876 Congress authorized the issuance of silver coins of fractional denominations with which to redeem the fractional paper currency. This issue was limited to \$50,000,000. The act

of January 14, 1875, provided for the redemption of the United States legal tender notes on and after January 1, 1879, and to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to provide for redemption, he was authorized to "sell and dispose of at not less than par in coin," certain bonds which had been issued by the government. It has been claimed that it would be no injustice to redeem these bonds in silver. But the coin received in exchange for these bonds had been gold, for gold had been the only coin in circulation. There was a moral obligation to pay the bonds in the coin which had been given in exchange for them.

In 1878 was passed the Bland-Allison act providing for the recoinage of the silver dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains and authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver per month at the market value, for this coinage. It also provided for the silver certificates to represent the silver coined when left in the Treasury. The act also directed the President to invite other countries to join the United States in a conference to adopt a common ratio between gold and silver. This was the first declaration in favor of an international monetary conference. President Hayes vetoed this bill and it was passed over his veto. This act was an effort to give silver a better standing as money, and to provide a market for the silver produced in this country. But it could not prevent the fall of silver in price.

The "Sherman Purchasing Act" of 1890 was another effort in the same direction. It was repealed in 1893. The Republican party has been the consistent friend of silver and has sought to maintain it in circulation with gold. It has gone to extremes in this effort but has failed because the United States, acting independently could not maintain silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1 or any other fixed legal ratio which did not harmonize with the commercial ratio which has been constantly changing.

Under these two acts of 1878 and 1890 the government coined 451,918,650 silver dollars and including silver certificates and treasury notes issued, raised the amount of money represented by silver to \$570,166,793. The silver bullion coined under the act of 1878 cost the government \$308,279.26 and at the present price of silver it would cost \$186,207,289. The silver purchased under the act of 1890 cost \$155,981,002 and at the present price of silver it would cost \$107,832,037. Under these two acts the government paid \$171,420,937 more for the silver

now in circulation than it represents in actual intrinsic value. This is a big price paid in the effort to maintain silver and furnish a market for silver at the United States mints. The Republican party therefore favors international bimetallism as the only way to keep the two metals working together as standard money, and it has made every possible effort to secure an international ratio.

In the first century of the Republic has been demonstrated the fallacy of the present Democratic declaration in favor of a fixed legal ratio, independent of other commercial nations. It would be just as difficult for this country alone to fix a price for wheat and corn without regard to the supply and demand of other countries, or to maintain the wages of labor without some means of protecting our own labor from the competition of cheaper labor abroad. If the United States government could fix the price of silver, it could fix the price of wheat. It can do neither and has never succeeded in compelling gold and silver to circulate on equal terms at a fixed legal ratio which differed from the commercial ratio of the two metals.

Such was the situation which confronted the two great political parties in 1896. The Republican convention considered the question in the light of the past experience of the government covering nearly one hundred years, and adopted the resolution declaring the party in favor of sound money and the maintenance of the existing gold standard. That resolution was as follows:

"The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

"We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at a parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth."

The Democratic convention, controlled by the silver men, ignored the advice of the older and more experienced Democratic leaders, in

cluding the Democratic President, Mr. Cleveland, and his official recommendations, and declared for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, though at the time the coinage of silver at such ratio would have made the government deliberately attempt by legislation to double the price of silver in the commercial markets of this country and the world.

The Democratic resolutions were as follows:

"We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal tender money by private contract.

"We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin."

The campaign of 1896 was fought on this issue and that of the tariff. The Democrats made this their paramount issue. They drove out of their party thousands of conservative, patriotic Democrats who could not sacrifice country to party.

There was a thorough discussion of the financial question in that campaign in every state in the union, and the Republicans won by the greatest popular vote and majority ever given to a political party. This vote was the instruction of the majority of American voters to the Republican party to enact legislation in keeping with its platform. It has done that. The act of March 14, is the result.

In presenting that bill to the Senate, Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, chairman of the Committee on Finance and one of the best authorities on finance in the country, said:

"The general purpose of the bill is to declare anew that gold is the monetary standard of the United States; to establish confidence in the intention and ability of our Government to give the greatest possible measure of stability in value to its currency and to provide the means for securing for it at all times an equal purchasing power with gold; to lighten in every possible way the burdens imposed upon

the taxpayer by existing public obligations, and to strengthen the public credit.

"The first section contains a clear and definite declaration that the gold dollar is and shall continue to be the standard unit of value; a new and more emphatic pledge on the part of the United States that all forms of money it may issue or coin shall be at all times maintained at an equality of value with the gold coin adopted as the standard, and a specific provision that United States notes and Treasury notes shall, upon presentation at the Treasury, be redeemed in standard gold coin.

"These several declarations embody in new and more positive terms the law and the practice in this respect as interpreted and carried out in the administration of the Treasury Department since the resumption of specie payments. The act of February 12, 1873, made the gold dollar the sole unit of value, and no serious attempt has been made in the twenty-seven years which have elapsed since that act was passed to take away from our gold coinage this important function.

"It is true that the acts of February 28, 1878, and of July 14, 1890, respectively, made silver dollars and United States Treasury notes legal tender for all debts, public and private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract, but these provisions in no way affected the monetary unit of value adopted in 1873. The acts of July 14, 1890, and of November 1, 1893, both contain substantial assurances of the purpose of the United States to maintain a parity of value between its gold and silver coins. Although United States notes and Treasury notes are by law redeemable in coin, the invariable practice of the Treasury Department since 1879 has been to redeem them in gold coin.

"I have recited the provisions of these several acts that it may appear that no departure is intended by this bill from the public policy which was adopted years ago and has been consistently adhered to through successive administrations.

"If the official interpretation given to the acts I have referred to had met with general acquiescence and approval, there would have been no reason for the enactment of the legislation here proposed. Unfortunately, the men who have recently taken possession of the organization of one of the great political parties persistently deny that these various laws have the force and effect which have been repeatedly

given to them by Democratic and Republican administrations alike. It is to allay the doubts which have been raised and to dispel the fears which have been aroused by the persistent antagonism of the friends of the free coinage of silver and the advocates of a silver standard to all sound monetary principles that this legislation is necessary.

* * *

"No sane man can be found, outside of the ranks of the small band of bold, able, and aggressive leaders who at present dominate the policy of the Democratic party, who believes for an instant that the opening of our mints to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 will raise the value of silver bullion from its current commercial price to its mint price measured with relation to gold. Outside of this Chamber there is no political economist of reputation, no writer upon the subject of money whose opinion is of value, who does not believe that the free coinage of silver by the United States at the ratio of 16 to 1, without concurrent action on the part of the great commercial nations, would be equivalent to an adoption of the silver standard for all our transactions, public and private.

"The Democratic advocates of free coinage are not in any sense bimetallists, but silver monometallists of the most pronounced type. They reject all the theories upon which bimetallism can be intelligently defended, and persistently advocate a course which is sure to result in the use of silver alone as the standard of value.

"It is not necessary for me to enlarge upon the evils, the loss, discredit, and disaster which are sure to follow the adoption of a silver standard by this country. If, as now seems certain, we are to have another contest between the friends of sound currency and the advocates of free silver coinage, it is fortunate for those who favor the existing status that they will be able to enter the campaign with the consciousness that all the pledges made by them in 1896 have been fully redeemed and that the monetary issues between the parties are at least clearly defined."

The currency law does something more than remove all doubt concerning the standard of value. It directs that all forms of money issued or coined by the United States shall be maintained at a parity of value with this standard, and it is made the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain such parity. A reserve fund of \$150,000,000 in gold coin and bullion is set apart in the Treasury for the redemption

of United States notes of 1890, instead of \$100,000,000 formerly recognized as the gold reserve. Such fund is required to be used for redemption purposes only. Ample provision is made for restoring the reserve fund in case it shall fall below the \$150,000,000 required to be maintained.

The act also contains provisions which give greater liberty to the organization of national banks. Under the old law no national bank could be organized with a capital less than \$50,000. Under the new law the minimum capital required for organization is \$25,000 in places the population of which does not exceed 3,000 inhabitants. The object of this provision is to extend better banking facilities to those smaller communities heretofore denied the privilege of organizing national banks. At the same time, the law contains a provision authorizing the banks to issue their circulating notes to the par of the United States bonds deposited as security, instead of only 90 per cent, as formerly. This illiberal requirement either resulted in meager profits to national banks issuing circulating notes, or, as was the case in some localities, in actual losses, the effect of which was to restrict the issuing of circulating notes. Such restriction was most severely felt in those communities where currency wants were greatest.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the new currency law is that which relates to the refunding of the national debt. The 5 per cents of 1904, the 4 per cents of 1907, and the 3 per cents of 1908, the principal of which aggregates \$839,146,400, are authorized to be refunded into 2 per cent bonds, payable at the pleasure of the United States after thirty years from the date of their issue, and payable, principal and interest, in gold coin of the present standard value. The act contains a provision that the new 2 per cent bonds to be issued in exchange for the old threes, fours, and fives shall not be issued at less than par. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to conduct the refunding operations so that the old threes, fours, and fives should be received in exchange for the 2 per cents on a basis of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.

The following statement exhibits the refunding operation under the law of July 1, 1900, showing the amount of bonds of each kind exchanged since the law went into operation, March 14, 1900, together with the premium and the net saving of interest:

	Amount Refunded.	Savings in Interest.	Premium Paid.	Net Saving.
Threes of 1908...	\$69,949,400	\$5,810,669	\$3,964,717	\$1,845,952
Fours of 1907...	189,817,450	27,399,696	22,072,216	5,327,480
Fives of 1904...	47,358,500	5,405,379	4,736,101	669,278
Total	\$307,125,350	\$38,615,744	\$30,773,034	\$7,842,710

Of this total of \$307,125,350 over \$80,000,000, or nearly 27 per cent, was received from persons and institutions other than national banks.

The net saving shown by this statement represents the difference between the amount of interest the Government will pay upon the bonds refunded to the date of their respective maturities and the amount the Government would be obliged to pay had not the bonds been refunded.

As showing the uses the new bonds are largely serving, it may be noted that of the total issue \$307,125,350, the Treasury is the custodian of \$282,413,150, there being \$237,843,950 deposited to secure circulation and \$44,569,200 to secure public deposits.

No other nation of the earth can show such an achievement as is the exchange of these old, high-rate interest bonds for bonds issued upon so low a basis as 2 per cent. Hitherto Great Britain has been regarded as the financial Gibraltar of the world, but while British consols bearing interest at the rate of 2½ per cent per annum were selling 2 points below par, the United States was able to float a 2 per cent bond at par with ease. Such fact speaks volumes for the present financial strength of the United States. To float a 2 per cent bond at par of this kind means that the integrity of the dollar has been recognized in the law of the land, and there is faith in the honesty of our intentions and purposes for the future.

The operations of legal tender redemption under the provisions of the law exhibits a highly satisfactory condition of public confidence in our Government paper and is a happy omen of the success of that branch of our monetary system in the future. It appears from a statement of the Treasurer of the United States that from March 14 to June 30, 1900, the amount of the United States notes redeemed in gold out of the reserve fund is \$17,680,955, and of Treasury notes of 1890, \$3,361,167, a total of \$21,042,122.

The operation of the banking and currency provisions of the law shows considerable activity without any derangement of financial con-

ditions. Figures obtained from official sources show that from March 14 to June 30, 1900, 152 new banks were organized with a capital less than \$50,000, and with an aggregate capital of \$3,980,000, and in the same period 62 banks were organized with a capital of \$50,000 and upwards with an aggregate capital of \$7,895,000, making a total of banks organized 214, with an aggregate capital of \$11,875,000.

The bonds deposited by these new organizations to secure circulation amount to \$3,650,600, or about 30 per cent of capital.

The approved application for the organization of national banks in the period named number 302 banks with a capital less than \$50,000, with an aggregate capital of \$7,793,000, and 91 with a capital of \$50,000 and upwards, with an aggregate capital of \$9,980,000, making a total of approved applications of 393, with an aggregate capital of \$17,773,000.

It is interesting to note the States which lead in approved applications for the organization of banks and the investment of capital therein as shown by the official figures of the Comptroller's office. In approved application for banks with a capital less than \$50,000, Iowa leads with 35, with an aggregate capital of \$940,000. Pennsylvania holds the second place with 30 organizations and an aggregate capital of \$755,000, followed by Texas, with 26 banks, and a capital of \$683,000.

The Hon. Frank A. Vanderlip, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, says:

"There is more money in circulation per capita in the United States to-day than ever before in the history of the country. On July 1, the circulation per capita stood \$26.50. This is an increase of \$1.50 for every man, woman and child in the country since July 1, 1899. The total money in circulation on the 1st of this month was \$2,062,000,000, and during the year, for the first time, the two billion dollar mark was reached and passed. There has been a great increase in the volume of the circulating medium since 1896. On July 1 of that year the total stood at \$1,506,000,000, which represented a per capita circulation of \$21.10. In the four years there has been an increase of \$556,000,000, representing a per capita increase of \$5.40. It will thus be seen that the increase of money in circulation has kept pace with the expanding industries and commerce of the country.

"The most gratifying part of the gain which has been made lies in the fact that the greater part of the increase has been in gold, \$436,000,000 having been added to the gold stock of the United States since

July 1, 1896, the increase being from \$600,000,000 on the latter date to \$1,036,000,000 July 1, 1900. Of the \$1,036,000,000 of gold now in the United States more than \$815,000,000 is in circulation; that is, held by the banks and among the people. The Treasury holds \$150,000,000 as a reserve for the redemption of United States notes under the new currency law, while it also holds in gold coin and bullion assets in excess of the reserve to the extent of \$43,315,475. Four years ago the \$600,000,000 of gold in the country was made up of \$455,000,000 outside of the Treasury, \$100,000,000 held in reserve for the redemption of United States notes, \$43,000,000 for the redemption of gold certificates, and the Treasury's assets in gold above the reserve were only \$1,874,711. There has been an increase of gold in circulation during this period of more than \$300,000,000, while the holding of the Government has increased from less than \$102,000,000 to almost \$200,000,000. The strength of the country and of the Treasury in gold is one of the factors of these prosperous times, and during the last four years the Treasury, instead of being a disturber of the business of the country, has been a source of decided encouragement."

The Republican party has by its administration of the government restored confidence, sustained the credit of the nation and increased the money until the per capita circulation is larger than it ever was before, without in any way debasing the money, but by fortifying it so that every dollar in circulation whether of silver or paper is as good as gold. It has increased the silver coinage and has kept every dollar of silver issued as good as a gold dollar. The Republican party has done this by following the advice of President McKinley, who in 1896 said: "Open the mills and mines rather than the mints" to restore prosperity. The mills and mines were first opened by the Dingley law and the prosperity brought to the country opened the mints for the coinage of more money. The laborer and the farmer are alike interested in having the best money in exchange for their labor and products. It should be money that will not change its value after it comes into their hands by depreciation. The banker or the millionaire can take care of himself and handle money of varying value without loss, by waiting and watching for the best opportunity to get rid of it to the best advantage. The man dependent on his wages or the sale of his produce cannot wait. He receives it when due and he pays it out the next day or next week and only his savings represent his bank account. If it de-

preciates he is the loser. He will not get money that has the possibility of appreciation in the near future. The money changers will always hold on to that kind of money. They always have and the laborer has been the loser from debased money. President McKinley said in 1896: "The dollar paid to the farmer, the wage-earner, and the pensioner must continue forever equal in purchasing and debt paying power to the dollar paid to the government creditor."

Under McKinley's administration legislation has been enacted which insures this continuance and makes every other dollar as good as the gold dollar that must be paid to the bond-holder, when he calls for it in the redemption of his bond.

The Democratic party has again put forward its demand for free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The Democratic convention had another great struggle in doing this. There was a majority of two for silver in the Committee on Resolutions. This majority was made up from the smaller states and territories with representatives from strong Republican states to help. The old conservative Democracy was again overruled, and by Mr. Bryan, who insisted that this silver resolution should be in the platform. This platform will again test the loyalty of Democrats to party or to country. They must choose as to which they will serve.

Congressman Sibley of Pennsylvania, a Democrat in the House of Representatives, said when the financial bill was under consideration:

"I, for one, have no pride of political opinion which I will place as a barrier to impede the triumphal march of the present order of affairs. With American homes bathed in the golden sunshine of prosperity my partisanship shrivels, as it ought, and my patriotism exults, as it should. Whatever our views political may be, love of country is not bounded by lines of party. The man or set of men who for political success would drag the car of progress which has emerged from the miasmatic low-lands back into the dismal swamp of despair is a worthy member of no party."

CHAPTER VII.

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR.

For twenty years the great issue between the Republican and Democratic parties was the tariff. The Republican party has always been the party of protection and has from its organization insisted on the policy which began with the government, that the bulk of the revenues for the maintenance of the Federal government should come from tariff duties levied upon imports which came into competition with the products of this country. The Democratic party has, especially since the civil war, been a party of free trade, favoring a revenue tariff without regard to the effect it should have on our own industries. The battle between these two contentions has been fierce at times, and both sides have had their victories. But the fight seems to be ended. The protective policy has been so firmly established that for the first time in its history the Democratic party has ignored the tariff in its platform.

Mr. Bryan is not standing on the old Democratic platform of tariff for revenue only. His party has at last, apparently, abandoned that issue. The Democratic party has confessed that its promise of prosperity under free trade has, like the promissory note of the insolvent debtor, grown poorer every time it was renewed until it is absolutely valueless. The promises of the Republican party are never outlawed. They are redeemed. The promise of prosperity with protection has been redeemed and is beyond dispute.

William McKinley's name was closer identified with the principle of protection than with any other political issue when he was elected President. He had for twenty years fought for and defended this great principle. He had been the great philosopher of protection. He was the champion of protection when he was nominated and elected President. His administration has brought the final triumph of this principle in American politics, so that it is recognized as not a party, but an American principle. In his speech at the Lincoln Banquet at the Marquette Club in Chicago, February 12, 1896, Major McKinley said:

"We are faithfully wedded to the great principle of protection by every tie of party fealty and affection, and it is dearer to us now than

ever before. Not only is it dearer to us as Republicans, but it has more devoted supporters among the great masses of American people, irrespective of party, than at any previous period in our National history. It is everywhere recognized and endorsed as the great, masterful, triumphant American principle—the key to our prosperity in business, the safest prop to the Treasury of the United States, and the bulwark of our national independence and financial honor. The question of the continuance or abandonment of our protective system has been the one great, overshadowing, vital question in American politics ever since Mr. Cleveland opened the contest in December, 1887, to which the lamented James G. Blaine made swift reply from across the sea, and it will continue the issue until a truly American policy, for the good of America, is firmly established and perpetuated. The fight will go on—and must go on—until the American system is everywhere recognized, until all nations come to understand and respect it as distinctly, and all Americans come to honor or love it as dearly, as they do the American flag. God grant the day may soon come when all partisan contention over it is forever at an end.”

That day seems to have arrived. The fight has gone on and it has become recognized that the principle is respected and honored as is the American flag. McKinley's administration has made it so.

The fight for protection became more direct after the first Cleveland administration and the attempt of that administration to change the policy of the government to free trade.

In the Republican convention of 1888, Major McKinley was Chairman of the Committee on Platform and wrote the tariff plank. He made it a declaration for protection, not merely a protective tariff. He left no chance for evasion. The plank read:

PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRIES.

“We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the country, and we heartily endorse

the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress in opposing its passage."

The McKinley tariff law was the outcome of the Republican victory that year. It brought prosperity, and President Harrison in his last message to Congress said, "There has never been a time in our history when work was so abundant or when wages were so high." It was enacted just before the election in 1890 and the increased price in a few products frightened the American people so that the party was defeated at the polls that year. In 1892 the Democrats won a national victory, elected Mr. Cleveland President for the second time, and two years later succeeded in enacting the Wilson-Gorman tariff law. Mr. Cleveland was not satisfied because the law did not go far enough toward his theory of free trade, and he denounced it as an act of "perfidy and dishonor," but he allowed it to become a law without his signature. That law came nearer bankrupting the whole American people than any legislative act in the history of the government.

The Republican platform of 1896 renewed allegiance to the "policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity." The Democratic party that year denounced as "disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law." The result of the restoration of protection is the only safe criterion to judge its usefulness. The Dingley law which was enacted at the extraordinary session of Congress five months after McKinley's inauguration, has redeemed the Republican promise and so condemned the Democratic position on this question that it has apparently converted the Democratic party of its mistake, and caused it to ignore the tariff as an issue in its platform this year.

The results of protection are clearly shown in the record of the last ten years. The record of business failures under the McKinley law, Wilson law and Dingley law show this very forcibly. The number of failures in the calendar year 1892, the last year under President Harrison, was 10,344, and in 1893, the first year under a Democratic President, 15,242, an increase of practically 50 per cent; and in 1896, the last year of Democratic rule, 15,088. The amount of liabilities in 1892, the last year under President Harrison, was \$114,000,000, and the amount in 1893, the first Democratic year, was \$346,000,000, or more than three times as much as in the last Republican year; and

that of 1896, the last Democratic and low-tariff year, was \$226,000,000, while in 1897, the first year under President McKinley, the liabilities dropped to \$154,000,000, and in 1899, the liabilities had fallen to but \$90,000,000, or about one-fourth those of 1893; and the total number of failures was about 9,337, against more than 15,000 in the last year of Democracy.

The clearing house returns of the United States present another index of activity of business. The clearing house returns of the entire country amounted to \$60,000,000,000 in 1892, the last Republican year, and had dropped to \$45,000,000,000 in 1894, the year in which low-tariff was enacted, and were less than \$52,000,000,000 in 1896; while in 1898, the first full year under the Dingley tariff, they were \$65,000,000,000, and in 1899 were within a fraction of \$89,000,000,000, or practically double those of the year in which the Wilson low-tariff law was enacted.

Take, again, the record of the railways of the United States, that accurate register of commercial activity. The freight carried shows in 1894, the year in which the low-tariff law was enacted, a drop of 83,000,000 tons, or more than 10 per cent of the entire business as compared with the year in which a Democratic President was inaugurated, and 1898, under McKinley and the Dingley law, shows an increase of 124,000,000 tons as compared with 1897, the year in which the Wilson low-tariff act was repealed, and an increase of 230,000,000 tons over the year in which the Wilson law was enacted. Meantime the net earnings dropped from an average of \$2,000 per mile during several preceding years to \$1,800 per mile during the entire low-tariff period, and in 1898 again passed the \$2,000 per mile line, being for that year \$2,111 as the average earnings per mile of the railroads of the United States.

The effect of this depression upon the employees under the low tariff is shown by the fact that the number of men employed by railways fell in 1894, the year of the enactment of the Wilson law, nearly 100,000 below the number employed in 1893, while the earnings also showed a marked decrease. In 1898, the first full year under the Dingley tariff, the number of employees was, in round terms, 100,000 greater than in 1894, and the amount paid in wages \$50,000,000 greater than in 1895, while the year 1899 showed an increase of 149,000 employees

over 1894 and \$75,000,000 increase in the wages paid, as compared with 1894 or 1895.

On the question of mortgages, of which we heard so much in 1896, the single State of Nebraska presents figures to show that the value of mortgages filed in 1897, the first year under President McKinley, and the year in which the protective-tariff law was enacted, amounted to but \$15,630,721, against \$34,601,318 in 1893, the first year under a Democratic President and low-tariff Congress, and \$31,699,054 the year in which the low-tariff law was enacted, while the value of the mortgages released in 1898, the first full year under the protective tariff, was \$27,498,070 against \$18,213,382 in 1896, the first year of Mr. Bryan's nomination.

The deposits in the savings banks are a good register of business. The deposits from national banks fell from \$1,771,000,000 in 1892, President Harrison's last year, to \$1,574,000,000 in 1893, a reduction of \$200,000,000, and in the last year of the Democratic term they were but \$1,666,000,000, increasing to \$1,760,000,000 in 1897, \$2,073,000,000 in 1898, and \$2,605,000,000 in 1899—an increase of more than a billion dollars in 1899 as compared with 1893.

State banks also show an equally remarkable record, their total deposits in 1899 being almost double those of 1894. Loan and trust companies show in 1899 deposits amounting to \$835,000,000, against \$471,000,000 in 1894. Savings banks show a reduction of \$31,000,000 in their deposits in 1894 as compared with June 30, 1893, while those of June 30, 1899, are \$310,000,000 greater than for June 30, 1894. Taking the record of all classes of banks—national, State, loan and trust companies, savings banks, and private banks—the total deposits on June 30, 1899, were \$6,853,381,000, against \$4,667,930,328 in 1894, the year of the enactment of the Wilson law, an increase of more than \$2,000,000,000 or almost 50 per cent, and practically all of this increase occurred after the election of President McKinley and a protective-tariff Congress.

The per capita money in circulation in 1892, the last year under President Harrison, was \$24.44. By 1896 it had dropped to \$21.10 and in spite of the prediction that it could not increase without the free and unlimited coinage of silver and the retention of a low tariff, it has, under McKinley, the protective-tariff, and the gold standard, increased to \$26.58 per capita on May 1, 1900, an increase of 20 per cent

in the per capita circulation, of 25 per cent in the total money in circulation, and of 64 per cent in the gold and gold certificates in circulation; the total of the gold and gold certificates on July 1, 1896, the date of Mr. Bryan's nomination, being \$497,000,000, and on May 1, 1900, \$814,000,000, while the total money on July 1, 1896, was \$1,306,434,966, and on May 1, 1900, \$2,060,523,463—and without the “free and unlimited coinage of silver.”

The return of the protection policy under the McKinley administration did more than revive our domestic industries. It did what the Democrats had long insisted could only come under a free trade policy—it gave the United States a larger share in the trade of the world than had ever before been known. The showing made by the Dingley law in this respect has excited the astonishment of the civilized world.

Starting with 1892, the first full year of hitherto unequalled prosperity under the workings of the McKinley tariff, our exports of domestic merchandise for the first time reached the billion-dollar mark. For that year the exports were \$1,015,732,011 and the imports were \$827,402,462. In 1893, the first year of Cleveland and tariff reform, our exports fell off \$170,000,000 and our imports increased \$40,000,000. In 1895, when the Wilson free trade tariff had gotten in its deadly work, exports fell to \$793,392,590, and our visible trade balance fell from \$173,000,000 in 1892 to only a little over \$60,000,000 in 1895. Not until 1897, after the restoration of the protective policy, did we again touch the billion mark in our export trade. That year the total of exports was \$1,032,007,603, against imports of \$764,730,412, leaving a favorable trade balance of \$267,277,191.

The fiscal year of 1898, the first year of the Dingley tariff, saw a tremendous advance in our sales of American products to foreign consumers. For 1898 the total of exports was \$1,210,291,913, while our imports had fallen from \$866,400,922 in 1893, to \$616,049,654 in 1898. Here was a trade balance which startled the world. It amounted to \$594,242,259. For 1899 (fiscal year) the exports aggregated \$1,203,931,222 and the imports \$697,148,489, leaving a trade balance of over \$500,000,000, or upward of \$1,100,000,000 for two consecutive years.

The total foreign commerce of the United States during the fiscal year 1900 exceeds by 16 2-3 per cent that of any preceding year, being \$320,000,000 greater than that of 1899, the heaviest one on record preceding the one which has just ended. The total commerce of the year,

as shown by the figures of the Treasury Bureau of Statistics, is \$2,244,193,543. The exports are \$1,394,479,214, or \$163,000,000 in excess of those of 1893, which held the record of the largest exports until the record of 1900 was made. All of the great classes show an increase in exportation; fisheries, a million dollars; mining and forestry, nearly \$10,000,000 each; agriculture, nearly \$50,000,000; and manufactures nearly \$100,000,000 over the phenomenal year 1899.

Imports are also heavy, especially in the class designated as "articles in a crude condition which enter into the various processes of domestic industry." Of the five great classes of imports, articles in a crude condition for use in manufacturing show by far the greatest growth. Manufactures show a gain of about \$20,000,000 over last year; articles of voluntary use, luxuries, etc., also about \$20,000,000; articles of food, about \$15,000,000; articles wholly or partially manufactured for use in manufacturing, \$25,000,000, and articles in a crude condition which enter into the various processes of domestic industry over \$75,000,000.

The most noticeable features of the year's commerce are:

1st. The increase in imports of manufacturers' materials not produced at home.

2nd. The increase in exports of manufactured articles; and

3rd. The fact that the foreign commerce for the first time in the fiscal year record crossed the \$2,000,000,000 line. Imports of manufacturers' materials form in fact nearly one-half the total importations if we consider as manufacturers' materials the class "articles wholly or partially manufactured for use as materials in the manufactures and mechanic arts." They alone amount to about \$90,000,000, while "articles in a crude condition which enter into the various processes of domestic industry" amount to over \$300,000,000. Thus the manufacturers' materials imported during the year amount to about \$400,000,000 out of a total of \$849,000,000. In 1890 manufacturers' materials, including both classes—articles in a crude condition, and articles wholly or partially manufactured for use in manufacturing—formed 33 per cent of the imports; in 1895 they formed 37 per cent; in 1896, 37 per cent; in 1898, 42 per cent; in 1899, 41 per cent, and in 1900, 46 per cent. Taking raw materials alone, the group classified as "articles in a crude condition which enter into the various processes of domestic industry," the per cent which they formed of the total importation was, in 1885, 20.64 per cent; in 1890, 23.06 per cent; in 1899, 31.82 per cent, and

in 1900, 35.75 per cent. To put it in a single sentence, the imports of the year increased \$152,000,000, of which increase two-thirds was in manufacturers' materials, and the exports increased \$167,000,000, of which increase one-half was manufactured articles.

Under the Dingley law the United States began to invade the markets of the world with American manufactured products in a way to surprise our own people and those of other manufacturing countries which are our rivals. The statistics giving the sales of American manufactures for the past ten years show a remarkable change in this export trade. For the first four years of this decade from 1890 to 1900 we bought from foreigners more than double the manufactures we sold to them.

In 1890 the imports of this character were, in round numbers, \$356,000,000, and the exports \$151,000,000. Neither the totals nor the proportions varied materially until 1894, when, in anticipation of the lower duties soon to come under a free trade administration, imports fell off to \$237,000,000, while exports rose to \$183,000,000. The domestic manufacturer was working off at cut prices his surplus of stocks, which American consumers were too poor to buy. In 1896 we bought of foreigners \$333,000,000 and sold to them \$228,000,000 of manufactured goods. In 1897 we bought less (\$304,000,000) and sold more (\$277,000,000). The Dingley tariff then began to show its value to industry, trade and commerce. In 1898 the imports of manufactures dropped to \$230,000,000, because the domestic producer was furnishing an increased proportion and foreigners a decreased proportion of the goods consumed by Americans.

But this was not all. Our exports of manufactures in that year rose to \$290,000,000, and for the first time in our history we sold the outside world more manufactured goods than we bought. The difference in our favor was about \$60,000,000. For the last fiscal year, ending June 30, 1899, this grand record was surpassed. While we increased to \$259,000,000 the amount of foreign goods bought, because our people were now better able to indulge their taste for luxuries of foreign production, we increased to \$338,667,794 our sales of manufactured goods to the outside world. And we did even better the last fiscal year, our sales of manufactured exports amounting to nearly \$440,000,000, or more than \$1,000,000 a day in manufactured products alone going ahead.

In 1890 our exports of manufactures formed 16.6 per cent of our total exports. In 1900 the percentage has risen to 29.7, or almost double the proportion of ten years ago. This is the record, after two years and a half of restored protection of American labor and industry, of a country which free traders used to tell us was destined by Providence to sell to the outside world food stuffs and raw materials exclusively.

Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, sums up the year's commerce of the United States in these words:

"We have just witnessed the close of a marvelous year in the foreign trade. We rejoiced exceedingly a year ago when the value of our exports reached \$1,227,000,000. We were happy at the close of 1898, when the total of exports was \$1,231,000,000, and we were demonstrative in 1897, when, after a long and trying period of business depression, the exports for the second time in our history exceeded \$1,000,000,000, and stood at \$1,050,000,000. These years we have been accustomed to refer to as phenomenal. No other adjective seemed to be adequately expressive of the gigantic totals which have been reached by the swelling tide of prosperous times. Yet these years, fraught with such gratifying development, were only the basis for still greater gains. In the year which has just closed we have made a new mark, for the exports for the fiscal year of 1890 stand at \$1,400,000,000. That is \$173,000,000 of a gain over last year, \$169,000,000 greater than in the banner year 1898, and \$350,000,000 more than in 1897. It is \$517,000,000 more than in 1896.

"When we come to examine in detail the record of the year, we find that manufactures have made the largest increase. The exports of manufactured products during the year under consideration were \$75,000,000 greater than in 1899. There is an increase of \$50,000,000 in exports of agriculture, and in the products of the mines an increase of nearly \$10,000,000, while the fisheries are \$2,000,000 larger than last year.

"The total exports of manufacture of iron and steel are in the neighborhood of \$120,000,000, which is an increase of 20 per cent over 1899.

"The imports of the year just closed will be in the neighborhood of \$850,000,000, thus insuring a trade balance for the year exceeding half a million dollars. Our trade balances since 1896 have surprised the world. In 1897 we sold abroad \$286,000,000 more than we bought; in 1898 \$615,000,000 and in 1899 \$529,000,000. Adding the great balance

of 1900, the last four years has shown a total balance in our favor of \$1,980,000,000, which is more than five times the balance in our favor during 108 years, from 1790 to 1896.

"The revenues of the Post Office Department make a better showing this year than in any other of the present decade. The receipts aggregate \$102,287,458, and the expenditures \$107,776,704, leaving a deficit to be supplied from the ordinary funds in the Treasury of \$5,489,245. Last year the deficit was \$6,610,000. It was \$9,020,000 in 1898, and \$11,411,000 in 1897.

"The excess of receipts over expenditures in the Treasury for the fiscal year 1900 amounts to \$81,275,156, but this is the first surplus we have had in several years.

"The receipts from customs during the last year aggregate \$233,857,958, which is an increase over the preceding year of \$27,729,477. This substantial increase represents the normal operation of the Dingley tariff.

"The internal revenue receipts for the year stand at \$296,299,388, which is an increase of \$22,862,227 over the fiscal year of 1899.

"Miscellaneous receipts stand at \$38,831,601, which is an increase of about \$2,500,000 over the preceding year. Now, while all the revenues have been increasing substantially, expenditures have been decreasing.

"The present position of the Treasury is one of great strength. Of course, the \$150,000,000 fund in gold coin and bullion reserved in the Division of Redemption, according to the terms of the new currency law, is intact. What we now call the general fund—that is, the money over and above the reserve requirements—makes an available cash balance of \$151,717,167.

"The outlook of the Treasury financiering for the coming year is a prosperous one. Should the receipts continue at the present rate it is altogether likely that the new session of Congress will speedily undertake to repeal the war revenue act, or so much of the taxes levied under it as can be spared."

These figures giving results from two different tariff systems speak with more force than do many other arguments. They demonstrate the truth of President McKinley's assertion in 1892 that "Protection builds up; a revenue tariff tears down. Protection brings hope and

courage to the heart and home; free trade drives them from both. Free trade levels down, protection levels up."

The Democratic tariff bill leveled down the industrial conditions of this country to those of the old world where pauper labor is common. The Dingley tariff law leveled up these conditions to the American standard of independent labor. It justified the tariff plank in the Republican platform for this year which is as follows:

"We renew our faith in the policy of the protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better condition of life from those of any competing country."

The Democratic party has abandoned its free trade policy for this campaign, but it is an old heresy with which Mr. Bryan and his party are tainted, for they saw visions and dreamed dreams of prosperity through free trade before they began to dream of national wealth through the free coinage of silver, and were Mr. Bryan elected President with a Democratic Congress, he would be induced to try both experiments without regard to past experiences. It should be remembered that Mr. Bryan won his first notice as a free trade orator, and in the 52nd Congress he was as ardent and extravagant in his advocacy of free trade as he was four years ago in his advocacy of free coinage or as he is now in denouncing imperialism. Free trade was his paramount issue only six years ago, and as a member of the Ways and Means Committee he assisted in framing the Wilson-Gorman Tariff bill which brought upon this country its greatest commercial calamity.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL—A GREAT INTERNATIONAL WATERWAY.

The wonderful voyage of the Oregon from San Francisco to Santiago and the anxiety of the American people over the magnificent battleship during that perilous run around the South American coast, was in large measure responsible for the new position taken by the United States Government in reference to an isthmian canal. The nation, as it waited for the news from each point at which the battleship touched, and grew anxious over the perils to which it was subjected, not only from the dangers of the seas through which it had to pass, but also from the Spanish torpedo flotilla which sought its destruction, determined that there must be a shorter route for our navy between the Atlantic and Pacific coast lines which it must defend. The isthmian canal must be under American control. This is now the American policy. The government will construct the canal and control it, but the policy of neutralization will be adopted as has always been contemplated, because this is the policy governing every great international waterway in the world where it passes through territory not actually a part of the nation in control. The President and Congress favor the policy of having the government construct and own the Nicaraguan canal. The President has done his part to enable the government to do this. He has negotiated a new treaty with Great Britain by which the latter power agrees to withdraw from the partnership entered into by the two governments in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. This partnership has been in existence for fifty years. By the Clayton-Bulwer treaty the governments of the United States and Great Britain declared that neither the one nor the other would ever obtain or maintain for itself the exclusive control over a ship canal across the isthmus, agreeing that neither would ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same, or in the vicinity thereof, or occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume, or exercise any domain over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America; nor would either make use of any protection which either afforded, or of any alliance which either had or might have to or with any State or people to secure such control. The Clayton-Bulwer

treaty was, in short, a contract that any canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans and across Central America should be under the joint control of the two nations. It was a partnership, and it has been the greatest barrier to the construction of an isthmian canal for the past half century.

The present administration has taken the first important step to dissolve that partnership and enable the United States to construct and control an isthmian canal connecting the two oceans, and forming a waterway which will not only shorten the route of water transportation between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of this country, but will establish a highway for our navy in its work of protecting the coast, and make unnecessary such another marvelous feat as the voyage of the battleship Oregon from San Francisco around Cape Horn to join her sister ships in repelling a foreign enemy.

The new treaty negotiated by Secretary Hay agrees that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, either directly at its own cost or by gift or loan of money to individuals or corporation, or through subscription to or purchase of stock or shares, and that subject to the convention this government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal.

This Hay-Pauncefote treaty does just what this government has been trying to find a way to do for many years. It disposes of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty so far as that instrument obligated the United States to go into partnership with Great Britain in the control of the isthmian canal. This new treaty has not been ratified by the Senate. It requires two-thirds to ratify a treaty. The Republicans have not the necessary votes. The treaty would have been in danger of defeat if submitted to a vote at any time during the last session by reason of Democratic opposition.

A ship canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans has been the dream of navigators for many years, and that dream has become a practical necessity from a commercial and strategic point of view. It is about to be realized. The House of Representatives has passed a bill to provide for the acquisition of the territory necessary to the control of such a canal, and for its construction at the expense of the United States Government. The United States Senate has made this bill a

special order for consideration on December 10, 1900, and the sentiment in that body is as favorable to the Nicaragua canal as it was in the House. The President also favors the proposed legislation, but for various reasons the House bill will have to be amended, and it will have to wait until something is done with the new treaty. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty is still the law of the land, and will remain so until modified by the ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. The old treaty cannot be ignored. It must be modified, as provided for by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, or it must be formally abrogated by Congress. The Senate is a part of the treaty-making power and must proceed in order, acting on the new treaty before it passes the House bill. There is no reason to believe that either will be long delayed or that the Nicaragua canal will not be begun during the next administration and the dream of a shorter waterway route to the Pacific realized within the next decade.

The Federal government began to consider the feasibility of an inter-oceanic canal seventy-five years ago, when the Panama Congress was called and this government sent delegates. In 1835 Henry Clay introduced a resolution in the Senate requesting the President to open negotiations with other nations regarding an isthmian canal. President Andrew Jackson discussed the proposition for a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama in his message in 1837. In that message he called attention to the importance of making it clear that the canal should be neutral. In 1850 was negotiated the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain by which the two governments declared that neither the one nor the other would obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over a ship canal by the Nicaragua route. In that treaty it was agreed that neither government would ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the canal or in the vicinity thereof. This Clayton-Bulwer treaty was a partnership in inaugurating and protecting an inter-oceanic canal across Nicaragua. They agreed to the neutrality of the canal when it should be constructed. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty was at our solicitation; it was done in pursuance of a long established policy. In it we provided for the free use of the canal by all nations, and also for the extension to Central America of our historical policy, called the Monroe Doctrine. The treaty pledged Great Britain to the observance of the Monroe Doctrine in Central America, and never to occupy, colonize or exercise dominion over any part of Central America. That was

the first recognition given to the Monroe Doctrine by any foreign nation in a treaty. It served a good purpose. Great Britain did not strictly observe the treaty, but was compelled to do so. The position of the United States was well defined at that time. We did not want to annex or control any part of Central America, and we did not propose that any European nation should do so. We had declared this over and over again in resolutions by Congress and in treaties made with Central and South American Republics. We made a treaty with New Granada in 1846 which is still in force. That treaty declares: "The United States guarantees positively and efficaciously to New Granada, by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned isthmus with the view that the free transit from the one sea to the other may not be interrupted or embarrassed." After the Clayton-Bulwer treaty we made a treaty with Nicaragua in 1867, which expressly provided that the United States should guarantee the neutrality of the Nicaragua canal. The Freylinghuysen-Zavala treaty of 1884 did not contain the neutrality clause, neither was it ratified.

This government has time and again invoked the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to warn Great Britain to keep her hands off Central America. We have also sought to secure its modification, but with no success until now. The McKinley administration has negotiated a new treaty with Great Britain which modifies it so as to permit this government to construct the canal and control it. This treaty has been criticised, but it secures from Great Britain the one thing we have sought—the annulment of the contract and the dissolution of the partnership entered into in 1850 for joint control and protection of an isthmian canal.

The first plan for a canal was by private capital. The governments of the United States and Great Britain proposed to protect British and American capitalists who would venture their money in such an enterprise. Capitalists did start in bravely, but they failed. The first authentic survey and actual location of a canal route across Nicaragua were made by Col. O. M. Childs in 1850, 1851 and 1852, at the instance of a transit company which had established trans-isthmian communication with California by steamer from Greytown via the San Juan River to Virginia Bay, on the west shore of Lake Nicaragua, and then by stage to San Juan del Sur, a small natural harbor on the Pacific coast about eight miles southeast of Brito. The river transportation proved troublesome and uncertain at low stages, and the transit company sought

means to better these conditions and to continue the water route across the narrow neck of land that separates the lake from the Pacific, with the object of securing a continuous depth of 17 feet.

Childs found the ordinary high level of Lake Nicaragua to be 108 feet above mean sea level. This difference of elevation was to be overcome by 14 locks on each side. The locks were to be 250 by 60 by 17 feet; the bottom width of the canal 50 feet, increased to 90 feet at turn-outs, and of excavated channels in river and lake 150 feet. The total length of the proposed navigation was 194.4 miles. The total estimated cost of the project, including 15 per cent for contingencies, was \$31,538,319, based on the supposition that on the average the expense for construction would be about double the cost of similar work in the State of New York.

In 1872 a United States expedition was fitted out for re-examination of the Childs route. It was conducted by Commander Lull of the Navy. It estimated the cost of the construction of a canal at \$65,722,000. In 1885 Mr. A. G. Menocal, under government direction, made a partial re-examination and his estimates were \$64,000,000. In 1886 a number of private gentlemen met in New York City to consider the project of a ship canal by the Nicaragua route, and agreed to associate themselves for the purpose of taking preliminary steps in the furtherance of that project. In March, 1887, these gentlemen dispatched Mr. A. G. Menocal to Nicaragua to negotiate a contract with the Nicaraguan Government granting the rights necessary for the construction of an inter-oceanic canal. In April, the same year, the contract negotiated between Mr. Menocal and Adam Cardenas, representing the Nicaraguan Government, was ratified and confirmed by the Nicaraguan Congress. In June of the same year the Nicaraguan Canal Construction Company was incorporated under the general laws of the State of Colorado. In July, 1888, Mr. Menocal secured a contract with the Costa Rican Government, and in February, 1889, a bill incorporating the Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua passed the House of Representatives. It had previously been passed by the Senate, and was signed by the President February 20, 1899. The Maritime Canal Company met and organized under the provisions of this charter, in May, 1899, and a construction party was dispatched to Nicaragua to begin the work. In the first year the company expended \$3,099,971 in the work of construction, or one million more than required under their contract with Nicaragua. In January,

1891, Senator Sherman introduced a bill in the Senate providing for the co-operation of the United States Government in the construction of the canal. The bill was favorably reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations, but did not reach a vote in the Senate. It was reintroduced at the next session with similar result. In 1893 the Nicaragua Canal Construction Company failed and was placed in the hands of a receiver. Work on the canal was suspended. The aggregate money and interest accrued thereon expended up to that date was \$4,500,000.

In 1895 the United States Senate passed an act guaranteeing bonds of the canal company to the extent of \$70,000,000, in consideration of a share by the Government in the control of the canal and the ownership of \$70,000,000 of the company's stock. This bill did not pass the House. In its place an agreement was finally reached by the act of Congress March 2, 1895, which authorized the appointment of a commission of three engineers for the purpose of reporting on the feasibility, permanence and cost of completion of the company's project, and the sum of \$20,000 was appropriated for this purpose.

The commission reported in November, 1895. They expressed their belief in the feasibility of a ship canal, but found it necessary to withhold approval of several features of the company's plans, and in particular deemed it prudent to increase the estimates of cost to \$133,472,893, and advised that an expenditure of \$350,000 would be necessary to obtain the additional data necessary for the formation of a final project. It was also advised that all locks should have a width of not less than 80 feet, if the navigation be intended to provide for the passage of war vessels, to the U. S. S. Iowa and others of the same class having a beam of 72 feet 3 inches, and beams of 75 feet being contemplated.

In March, 1896, the House Committee on Commerce reported a bill providing for the reorganization of the Maritime Canal Company, permitting the issue by the company of bonds to the amount of \$100,000,000, of which sum \$7,000,000 is to be retained to reimburse the company for money actually expended in Nicaragua for their franchise, the United States guaranteeing the principal and interest of the bonds, and to be protected in its liabilities by an issue of \$100,000,000 of stock, to be the sole property of the Government, ten of the fifteen directors to represent the Government.

Since then various bills have been considered by Congress and passed one house, but never reached the final stage of legislation. The con-

cession of contract of the Maritime Canal Company expired October 10, 1899. In October, 1898, the Eyre-Cragin syndicate secured a conditional concession from Nicaragua which gave them the exclusive privilege of constructing and owning a canal. This concession empowered Eyre and Cragin to treat with the Maritime Canal Company and obtain the recession of their concession from Nicaragua prior to October 9, 1899, and if such concession was not rescinded before that date they should proceed under their contract to build a canal. Such is in brief the history of the effort to construct the Nicaragua canal by private capital. It failed. Two years ago Congress appropriated \$1,000,000 for a full investigation of the canal routes across the isthmus. The President proceeded to comply with the direction of Congress, and Admiral Walker was placed at the head of a commission composed of the ablest government and civil engineers to take charge of the work. There has been a large party of engineers engaged in that work ever since. The commission is not ready to report. It will be by the time Congress meets in December. It will give accurate information regarding all the canal routes across the isthmus. This report may change the plan of the proposed legislation in minor particulars.

The bill which passed the House May 3, 1900, authorizes the President to acquire from the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua for the United States control of such portion of the territory now belonging to those States as may be desirable and necessary to construct and protect a canal. It authorizes the President to direct the Secretary of War to construct a canal and also safe and commodious harbors at the termini of the canal, and provide for its protection. The sum of \$140,000,000 is appropriated for the work.

There is no disagreement in Congress or with the administration as to the general policy of having the Government own and control an isthmian canal. The one difference is as to the policy of fortifying it. The proposition to fortify is antagonistic to the general policy of this government, and in violation of existing treaties not only with European powers but with Central American States. It is also at variance with the general policy of all governments regarding inter-oceanic canals. The Suez Canal, controlled by Great Britain, is neutralized. The European powers, England, Germany, Austria, Spain, Russia, France, Italy, The Netherlands, and Turkey, entered into a compact in 1888 by which they agreed that "the Suez Maritime Canal shall always be free and

open, in time of war and in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war without distinction of flag." This treaty also declares that "the canal shall never be subjected to the exercise of the right of blockade."

The Hay-Pauncefote treaty between the United States and Great Britain, signed February 5, 1900, and submitted to the Senate the same day, follows the same plan of neutralization. It is as follows:

ARTICLE I.

It is agreed that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, either directly at its own cost or by gift or loan of money to individuals or corporations or through subscription to or purchase of stock or shares, and that, subject to the provisions of the present convention, the said Government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal.

ARTICLE II.

The High Contracting Parties, desiring to preserve and maintain the "general principle" of neutralization established in Article VIII of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention, adopt, as the basis of such neutralization, the following rules, substantially as embodied in the convention between Great Britain and certain other powers, signed at Constantinople, October 29, 1888, for the Free Navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal, that is to say:

1. The canal shall be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any nation or its citizens or subjects in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise.
2. The canal shall never be blockaded, nor shall any right of war be exercised nor any act of hostility be committed within it.
3. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not revictual nor take any stores in the canal, except so far as may be strictly necessary; and the transit of such vessels through the canal shall be effected with the least possible delay, in accordance with the regulations in force, and with only such intermission as may result from the necessities of the service.

Prizes shall be in all respects subject to the same rules as vessels of war of the belligerents.

4. No belligerent shall embark or disembark troops, munitions of war or warlike materials in the canal except in case of accidental hindrance of the transit, and in such case the transit shall be resumed with all possible dispatch.

5. The provisions of this article shall apply to waters adjacent to the canal, within three marine miles of either end. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not remain in such waters longer than twenty-four hours at any one time, except in case of distress, and in such case shall depart as soon as possible; but a vessel of war of one belligerent shall not depart within twenty-four hours from the departure of a vessel of war of the other belligerent.

6. The plant, establishments, buildings, and all works necessary to the construction, maintenance and operation of the canal shall be deemed to be part thereof, for the purposes of this convention, and in time of war as in time of peace shall enjoy complete immunity from attack or injury by belligerents and from acts calculated to impair their usefulness as part of the canal.

7. No fortifications shall be erected commanding the canal or the waters adjacent. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder.

ARTICLE III.

The High Contracting Parties will, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, bring it to the notice of the other powers and invite them to adhere to it.

ARTICLE IV.

The present convention shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by her Britannic Majesty; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington or at London within six months from the date hereof, or earlier if possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this convention and thereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate at Washington, the fifth day of February, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred.

JOHN HAY.
PAUNCEFOTE.

The Senate may amend that treaty. There is an amendment, proposed by Senator Davis of Minnesota, pending, which is as follows:

"Insert at the end of Section 5 of which two the following: 'It is agreed, however, that none of the immediately foregoing conditions and stipulations in Sections 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this act shall apply to measures which the United States may find it necessary to take for securing by its own forces the defense of the United States and the maintenance of public order.' " A majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations favor this amendment, and believe that so amended the new treaty will be a happy escape from the restrictions of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and the certain first step in the ownership of an isthmian canal by the Government of the United States. It will also provide for the use of that canal in the defense of this country.

There is a peaceful and practical way of accomplishing results as well as a belligerent and impractical way. The United States is now at peace with all nations of the world. It is seeking to maintain these peaceful relations and follow the destinies of the Republic without provoking an unnecessary conflict with any other nation. The duty of the President is to settle all foreign questions by diplomacy if possible. In this case the State Department succeeded in securing the modification of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which was desired and necessary to carrying out the new American policy of an American canal built by this Government and controlled by it. It is another achievement of the administration without bombast or belligerency. Congress did not know it was contemplated until it was accomplished, but the administration act fitted into the plans of Congress to legislate for a government canal. The treaty came as a surprise, but it furnished the bridge over which Congress could pass without breaking the faith of this Government by violating a treaty with a friendly power. It was one of those happy achievements of diplomacy which made possible what the most ardent tail-twisters in Congress were demanding because it seemed impossible. Whatever credit is due Congress for taking advance ground on canal legislation, to the McKinley administration is due the credit

for placing the proposed legislation above the suspicion of a violation of a treaty obligation—the highest law of the land. The possibilities of an isthmian canal have been exploited for many years. It will unite the Atlantic and Pacific coasts for commerce and for national defense. It will facilitate the exchanges of the products of the East and the West, and also the commerce with South America. It will furnish the open channel for a direct circumnavigation of the globe on one parallel and from Porto Rico on the East to Hawaii and the Philippines to the West the sea will be under the protection of the United States flag.

CHAPTER IX.

EXPANSION NOT IMPERIALISM—AN AMERICAN POLICY, NOT PARTISAN

The expansion policy of the United States is almost as old as the Government. It began with the beginning of the century just closing. The people and their representatives in Congress and in the Executive office began to look across the Mississippi river with longing eyes when Washington was President. The mouth of the Mississippi river was controlled by Spain. Our commerce from the South and West on that great waterway could only reach the international waters of the ocean and the Gulf by passing through a foreign gateway. The statesmen of that time clearly saw that this Government must secure that gateway to insure independence for the commerce of the country that had been won for the conscience and political rights of the people. They set about finding a way to secure this gateway. The people of the West claimed that "The Mississippi is ours by the law of nature," and in their remonstrance against the existence of that foreign gateway declared: "If Congress refuses us effectual protection, if it forsakes us, we will adopt the measures which our safety requires, even if they endanger the peace of the Union and our connection with the other States. No protection, no allegiance." The people of the older States on the Atlantic coast caught up the cry of their relatives and fellow-citizens in the West and emphasized the demand on Congress and on the President for relief by regulation, and if that failed by war.

President Jefferson saw the growing discontent and endeavored to quiet it by assurances of action. He transmitted to Congress December 22, 1802, a message in which he said that he was aware of the obligation to maintain in all cases the rights of the Nation and to employ for that purpose those great and honorable means which belong to the character of the United States. In reply the House of Representatives reminded the President that they held it to be their duty "to express their unalterable determination to maintain the boundaries and the rights of navigation and commerce through the river Mississippi as established by existing treaties."

President Jefferson began negotiations with Spain which failed. Spain then retroceded the Louisiana Territory to France and Napoleon offered to cede it to the United States. This was done in 1803, and the United States expansion policy began. It has continued from that time to this, all parties and all administrations being forced to follow the demands of the people for better trade opportunities. It has never meant imperialism, though the few opponents of each act of expansion raised the cry of imperialism, just as the Democratic leaders are raising it now.

The original thirteen States held title to little more than one-fourth of the present extent of territory within the United States. The other three-fourths were the result of expansion, and this expansion was by the old Democratic party of Jefferson and Monroe and Jackson. It was by conquest and purchase and discovery. It was without the consent of the governed. In some instances it was charged that it had imperialism as its inspiration to make more powerful the old slave power of the South. That party led by Jefferson and Monroe reached out after Cuba, the Danish West Indies, Yucatan and the Hawaiian Islands. Whatever the inspiration for this expansion it was by the greatest statesmen the country has produced, and it has become the seat of the most democratic empire the world has ever known and the home of the purest democracy in the union of States.

The Republican party is now following this old Democratic policy, the policy of Jefferson when he secured the Louisiana Territory. The only difference is that the policy was forced upon the Republican party as the result of a war for humanity. Hawaii came asking admission to the Union, and Congress voted almost unanimously and without party division to annex the islands. During the war with Spain the people of Porto Rico met the U. S. soldiers with flowers and fruits and enthusiastic speeches of welcome and asked for American flags. They desired to throw off the yoke of Spain and become a part of the United States. The Philippines were taken from Spain as indemnity for the war. Admiral Dewey, a Democrat, sailed into Manila Bay to carry out his orders to find and capture or destroy the Spanish fleet. He destroyed it, winning the most remarkable naval victory of modern times. He remained after the battle in possession of the bay, and the army followed to take Manila from the Spaniards. Spain surrendered the islands to the United States as indemnity for the war and transferred the sovereignty of the archipelago which the world had acknowledged hers for four hundred years.

There has never been from the day of Dewey's victory over the Spanish fleet until now, a day or an hour when this Government could surrender the Philippines without shirking its responsibilities as a great world power. If there is in the future such a possibility, no man can see it. We had carried our flag to the Philippines, and must keep it there or withdraw it, leaving the flag of Spain over the islands. There was no other government or possibility of a government to contest that power with Spain. Other powers were ready to seize upon the islands if the United States withdrew. Their navies were in Manila Bay ready to stay and seize the fruits of Dewey's victory.

This is the story in brief of the Republican expansion. It began in humanity and ended in duty. The duty remains. It cannot be shifted or shirked with honor. No party or administration can change it and retain the respect of the American people and most of the world. No opponent of the Administration has suggested a way to surrender the Philippines. They are American territory. That fact is settled beyond controversy. Congress has the power and the duty to fix the political status of the inhabitants of those islands. Congress will do this as it has fixed the political status of the inhabitants of other territory acquired. The Louisiana Territory was acquired nearly one hundred years ago. The last territory in that great empire of the West has been admitted to the Union of States within the last ten years. The Philippines will not be admitted to the Union until they can meet the same requirements of other territories seeking Statehood. This may never be. The archipelago may never be brought under the Constitution as a part of the United States. It will not be while it remains what it is with a great population wholly dissimilar to the population of this country and unqualified for participation in the Government of the United States. Dewey did not carry the Constitution to Manila nor did the Peace Commissioners send it there. Congress is the only power that can place the Constitution in the Philippines. Congress can legislate for these islands without giving them a right to help in the legislation for this country. Congress can give them a civil government as free as that of any State when they are fitted for it, without giving them freedom of trade with this country. Congress has done that with Porto Rico. This is not imperialism. It is the same kind of expansion we had in the Louisiana Territory and in Oregon and in the territory acquired from Mexico. The beginning was the same, with the exception that in the treaty with Spain

this Government did not agree to make the inhabitants citizens of this Republic, but left that power in the hands of Congress. The Federal courts have held that act constitutional. Porto Rico and the Philippines belong to the United States, but are not a part of it under the constitution.

The Democrats of today are not the discoverers of imperialism in expansion. The Federalists of one hundred years ago discovered imperialism in the Louisiana Purchase. They charged President Thomas Jefferson with seeking imperial powers in the acquisition of the territory, and they advanced every argument against that act and employed every method in denunciation of the President and his party that have been employed by the opponents of expansion today. Jefferson was denounced as a perverter of the Government and a trampler on the constitution he had helped to create. The reports of Congressional proceedings of that day are filled with just such arguments and just such abuse of the President as the Democrats who claim to be followers of Jefferson are using today, and these were all against the acquisition of the territory west of the Mississippi River, known as Louisiana.

James G. Blaine, in volume 1, page 7, *Twenty Years of Congress*, said:

"It seems scarcely credible that the acquisition of Louisiana by Jefferson was denounced with a bitterness surpassing the partisan rancor with which later generations have been familiar. No abuse was too malignant, no epithet too coarse, no imprecation too savage to be employed by the assailants of the great philosophic statesman who laid so broad and deep the foundation of his country's growth and grandeur. President of a feeble Republic, contending for a prize which was held by the greatest military power of Europe, and whose possession was coveted by the greatest naval power of the world."

In the debate in Congress on that proposition, Mr. Griswold of Connecticut said it was not consistent with the spirit of republican government that this Louisiana territory should be so large. Mr. Lewis saw in it the advent of militarism, and Mr. Lucas said: "Without wishing to reflect upon the inhabitants of Louisiana, I would say they are not prepared for a Government like that of the United States."

McMasters, in his *History of the United States*, says:

"Never was the constitution more broadly construed than when the judiciary act was repealed and the Purchase of Louisiana effected.

Never was the executive power more extended than when Jefferson was given despotic sway over the territory of New Orleans. Never was the constitution more impudently disregarded than on the day when one rate of tonnage duty was laid in the ports of Louisiana and a very different one in the ports of the states. The great mass of the men who in 1800 voted for Adams could in 1804 see no reason whatever for voting against Jefferson."

McMasters also says:

"The Federalists controlled the clergy and the press, and summoned to their aid every charge which for four years past had been going the rounds of the newspapers. The old cries of French influence, ruin of the army, ruin of the navy, ruin of the judiciary, persecution of the Federalists, Virginia rule, taxation in New England, were heard again. God-fearing men were reminded of Jefferson's friendship for Thomas Paine. The shipwrights, the blacksmiths, the whitesmiths, the pump-makers, the block-makers, the pewterers, the coopers, and riggers were reminded of his hatred of mechanics and of his wish that our workshops might remain in Europe.

"Taxpayers were bidden to recall the frightful extravagance of the administration, the great sums squandered in sending Republicans abroad to replace Federalists at foreign courts, and the fifteen millions to be paid for Louisiana. 'Do you know,' it was asked, 'what this means? Do you know that, if the fifteen millions were divided among the states on the ratio of representation, the amount allotted to each Congressman would be \$105,000; that Massachusetts would pay more than \$4 a head for each man, woman and child within her borders; that New Hampshire's share of the interest would be \$87 a day; that Connecticut would be taxed \$30 for every family? Thus have the professed idolizers of economy embarrassed the country with a debt of which the interest is greater than the direct tax of which they complained so bitterly. Is this a subject for thanksgiving, or a fast?'"

The Boston Gazette on November 24, 1803, said:

"And like Anacharsis, our titled patriots, from Mr. Jefferson downwards, seem to entertain the same furious enmity against the language and common sense which they do against the religion and Government of our country."

The New York Herald on October 26, 1803, said:

"The good people of New England must know that were every citi-

zen of Virginia to vouch for Mr. Jefferson's morality (and there is a large and respectable portion who never will), the evidence could have no weight here, where morality is taken from a very different scale. Habit in that depraved state justifies what here would damn a reputation to universal contempt."

Senator White of Delaware predicted that the annexation of Louisiana would be productive of innumerable evils, and especially of one he feared to even look upon. "Our citizens," said he, "will be removed to the immense distance of 2,000 or 3,000 miles from the capital of the Union, where they will scarcely ever feel the rays of the general Government; their affections will become obliterated; they will gradually begin to view us as strangers; they will form other commercial connections, and our interests will become extinct."

These are arguments echoed today by anti-expansionists.

Thomas Jefferson did not stop with the purchase of the Louisiana Territory. He wanted Florida and Cuba. In a letter written August 10, 1807, during his second term as President, and addressed to Madison, his Secretary of State, discussing the possibilities of a war with European countries, he said:

"I had rather have war with Spain than not, if we are to go to war against England. Our Southern defenses can take care of the Floridas, volunteers from the Mexican army will flock to our standard, and rich pabulum will be offered to our privateers in the plunder of their commerce and coast; probably Cuba would add itself to our confederation."

Two years later, writing again to Madison, who was then President, he said:

"I suppose the conquest of Spain will soon offer a delicate question to you as to the Floridas and Cuba, which will offer themselves to you. Napoleon will certainly give his consent without difficulty to our receiving the Floridas, and, with some difficulty, possibly Cuba."

A week later he writes again:

"That Napoleon would give us the Floridas to withhold intercourse with the residue of these colonies cannot be doubted, but that is no price, because they are ours in the first moment of the first war; but, although with difficulty, he will consent to our receiving Cuba into our Union to prevent our aid to Mexico and the other provinces. That will be a price, and I would immediately erect a column on the southernmost limit of Cuba, and inscribe on it a ne plus ultra as to us in that direc-

tion. We should then only have to include the North in our confederacy, which would be, of course, in the first war, and we should have such an empire of liberty as she has never surveyed since the creation, and I am persuaded no constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self-government."

When we came to the annexation of Texas there were the same evils of imperialism and the same denial of constitutional power. Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, one of the ablest of the Whigs of that day, said on the floor of Congress:

"I for one deny the constitutional power of this Government to amalgamate the political destinies of this people with those of Texas or any other foreign Government."

He also said:

"It is for these reasons that I have characterized the annexation of Texas as a dissolution of the Union. Whether this language be appropriate I leave for those who hear me to determine. I will not contend about terms."

Andrew Jackson wrote a letter favoring the annexation of Texas and the extension of our boundaries, but Senator Pierce said:

"I want no more annexation. I want no more partnership with outside barbarians."

Daniel Webster said in Congress:

"For one I enter into this declaration with all my heart. We want no extension of territory; we want no accession of new states. The country is already large enough. From the first I saw, and have seen, nothing but danger to arise to the country from such annexation. We appear to me to be rushing upon perils headlong and with our eyes all open, but I put my trust in Providence and in that good sense and patriotism of the people, which will yet, I hope, arouse themselves before it is too late."

These men were wise in their day and some of them are, and will be for all time, revered as the ablest statesmen and truest patriots of this nation, but they were mistaken in their judgment as to the dangers of territorial expansion, and the history of the United States has recorded this so emphatically that it is not presumption to judge that the anti-expansionists of today, however honest and patriotic they may be, are as liable to err as were they.

There was the same objection to the acquisition of California and

the retention of Oregon. The statesmen at the national capital were ready to sacrifice Oregon and Washington rather than contest the claim of Great Britain to the territory, and Senator McDuffie, in a speech in the Senate, said the country was not worth a pinch of snuff and he thanked God for His mercy in placing the Rocky Mountains there as a natural barrier. There were objections to the purchase of Alaska and to the annexation of Hawaii. There have been strong objections to the annexation of every foot of territory that has been acquired by the United States. But today there are twenty-four Senators and sixty-five Representatives in Congress from states within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase; and from this and other foreign acquisitions there are forty Senators and ninety-seven Representatives and delegates. It is in fact the richest part of the United States and the most progressive, with the center of our population now very near to what was the western boundary of the United States when the anti-expansionists first began to cry out against imperialism because Jefferson purchased from Napoleon the Louisiana territory across the Mississippi River. And not Hawaii, nor even the Philippines, are now as far removed in time and convenience of travel as was the Northwest Territory then, while California, when annexed, was distant two years from the seat of Government.

Men may differ now, as they did then, as to the power of the Government to acquire and govern territory under the constitution, but these theoretical differences have not been allowed to stand in the way of the growth and development of this country in the past and they will not in the future. The United States has never scuttled and run from theoretical fears, and it is not reasonable to suppose that it will be moved by hysterical fears now. The constitutional right of the President and Congress to accept the sovereignty over the Philippines is not a profitable discussion, since the same question has been discussed for a hundred years by the ablest statesmen of the country. Men have differed, but the long line of precedents have all been in one line—in favor of the constitutional power to acquire territory by conquest or by purchase. From the beginning of the Government the portals of American liberty have swung open to the poor and oppressed of all the world, and they have stood open not to individuals alone, but to whole sections that have come under American rule. This nation has never insisted that the blessings of liberty were for its own citizens alone. If there is any imperialism in

the American purpose it is not the imperialism of selfishness, but the imperialism of charity and universal desire to confer upon those people who have been entrusted to our care by a providence which we could not foresee or predestinate, all of the free institutions which we enjoy and which they are capable of receiving.

It was most nobly and patriotically said by President McKinley at Boston, in February of last year, that:

"No imperial design lurks in the American mind. That would be alien to American sentiment, thought and purpose. Our priceless principles undergo no change under a tropical sun. If we can benefit these people, who will object? If in years they are established in government under law and liberty, who will regret our perils and sacrifices; who will not rejoice in our heroism and humanity? I have no light or knowledge not common to my countrymen. I do not prophesy. The present is all absorbing to me, but I cannot bound my vision by the blood-stained trenches around Manila, where every red drop, whether from the veins of an American soldier or a misguided Filipino, is anguish to my heart, but by the broad range of future years, when the group of islands, under the impulse of the year just passed, shall have become the gems and the glories of these tropical seas, a land of plenty and of increasing possibilities, a people redeemed from savage indolence and habits, devoted to the arts of peace, in touch with the commerce and trade of all nations, enjoying the blessings of freedom, of civil and religious liberty, of education and of homes, and whose children and children's children shall, for ages hence, bless the American Republic because it emancipated and redeemed their fatherland and set them in the pathway of the world's civilization."

And that:

"The treaty now commits the free and unfranchised Filipinos to the guiding hand and liberalizing influence, the generous sympathies, the uplifting education, not of their American masters, but of their American emancipators."

The power of Congress to legislate for territory not under the constitution is an old one. It has been the subject of controversy for a hundred years. It has divided the opinions of the ablest lawyers and the highest courts, but these contrary opinions have not changed the policy of the Government on the result of annexation. The territory of Louisiana was governed without reference to the constitutional prerogatives

of the states. The act of October 31, 1803, passed by Congress and signed by President Jefferson, vested "All military, civil and judicial powers in such person or persons and to be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States should direct." There was no consultation with the inhabitants, no participation in their government accorded them, and no rights assured them except "the free enjoyment of their liberty, prosperity and religion."

The planters, merchants and other inhabitants of Louisiana protested against this first act of Congress and President Jefferson, and their protest was vigorous in denouncing it as imperialism, but this did not change their government until Congress was convinced that conditions in the territory justified the change.

Sixteen years later, after there had been much discussion, legislative action and judicial examination, Congress passed a similar act for the government of Florida, and President James Monroe approved that act. Florida was not a wilderness, but the oldest settled part of the American continent, and in addition to its Spanish, French and English inhabitants had several flourishing American settlements. This practice was followed with other territories down to 1849. The constitution was not extended to them. If President McKinley is an imperialist, then Jefferson, Monroe, Polk and Pierce were imperialists, for the present executive is walking in the path which Thomas Jefferson, author of the constitution, marked out and in which every other President for half a century followed.

The doctrine that "the constitution followed the flag" did not make its appearance until after the Mexican War, when slavery was the subject of agitation, and the struggle between freedom and slavery in the territories forced John G. Calhoun, the ablest defender of slavery, to bring forward the doctrine that the constitution *ex proprio vigore* extended into the territories, carrying with it, not the guarantees of liberty, but the safeguards of slavery. Thomas Benton in his "Thirty Years' View" says: "A new dogma was invented to fit the case—that of the transmigration of the constitution (the slavery part of it) into the territories, overriding and overruling all the anti-slavery laws which it found there and planting the institution there under its own wing, and maintaining it beyond the power of eradication either by Congress or the people of the territory."

So this doctrine that the constitution follows the flag was originated

to carry slavery into the territories against even the will of the people who resided in the territories and were fighting slavery. Daniel Webster, the great expounder and defender of the constitution, fought this new dogma in the Senate, but the Supreme Court in 1856, in the noted Dred Scott case, approved and applied it, declaring that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territories. The abolitionists denounced this decision as "A covenant with death and a league with hell," and Calhoun's doctrine helped to bring on the Civil War, in which it was supposed to have been buried with slavery, but it has been revived to deny the power of Congress to legislate for territory not under the constitution, or rather to insist that the act of cession carries the constitution into all the territory acquired from Spain. By this view of the constitution, Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines became a part of the United States, and under the constitution entitled to all the rights of other states and territories.

There are other decisions of the Supreme Court, both earlier and later, which contradict the view in the Dred Scott case. Chief Justice Marshall, in 1828, said: "In legislating for them (the territories) Congress exercises the combined powers of general and of a state Government."

Chief Justice Waite spoke of the territories as "the outlying dominion of the United States," and said "Congress may do for the territories what the people under the constitution of the United States may do for the states." Justice Matthews said that "the people of the United States, as sovereign owners of the national territories, have supreme power over them and their inhabitants." Justice Bradley says that "it would be absurd to hold that the United States has power to acquire territory and no power to govern it when acquired." And Justice Gray says that "By the constitution as now well settled, the United States having rightfully acquired the territories and being the only Government which can impose laws upon them, have the entire dominion and sovereignty, national and municipal, Federal and state, over all the territories so long as they remain in a territorial condition."

The issue of law is therefore as to whether the constitution interpreted by Chief Justice Marshall in the early days of the Republic, and Chief Justice Waite and nearly all the courts since the Civil War, shall be followed or the decision in the Dred Scott case, which held that Congress could not prohibit slavery in the territories. It is a revival of the

old question of slavery in a measure, and the anti-expansionists of today are following the dogma of Calhoun rather than the constitution of Jefferson.

As a policy, however, the present administration and Congress are following the precedents Jefferson and Monroe always followed in regard to new territories. The treaty with Spain was different from former treaties ceding territories to the United States, in that it did not promise to make the inhabitants of the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Guam citizens of the United States, but left their civil rights and political status to be determined by Congress—not the Fifty-sixth Congress nor any other particular Congress, but the great power of Congress which is continuous and which may, as in the case of Louisiana, extend new rights and privileges to the territories from time to time as the inhabitants are qualified for the exercise of such rights and privileges.

The Spooner bill introduced to govern the Philippines is almost a copy of the bill passed to govern Louisiana, and the bill for Florida, only not quite so sweeping in the imperial powers conferred upon the President. It would place the Philippines today where Louisiana was a hundred years ago.

The opponents of expansion have offered no new objections. They have repeated what has been uttered before by men as great as they, and greater, judged by the estimation in which they were held by the public and the places they occupy in history, but these utterances have been as chaff in the face of the destiny of the American Republic, and they have been scattered to the winds, of no avail except to be gathered up from old and almost forgotten reports to be used over and over again, without checking American progress. In his great speech in the Senate last March, Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, said truly:

“All our vast growth and expansion have been due to the spirit of our race, and have been guided by the instinct of the American people, which in all great crises has proved wiser than any reasoning. This mighty movement westward, building up a nation and conquering a continent as it swept along, has not been the work of chance or accident. It was neither chance nor accident which brought us to the Pacific and which has now carried us across the great ocean even to the shores of Asia, to the very edge of the cradle of the Aryans, whence our far-

distant ancestors started on the march which has since girdled the world.

"Call up your own history as witness. It was not inevitable that we should take Louisiana. We could have remained shut up between the Mississippi and the Atlantic and allowed another people to build the great city where New Orleans stands. But it was inevitable, if we followed the true laws of our being, that we should be masters of the Mississippi and spread from its mouth to its source. It was not inevitable that the union of states should endure. Had we so chosen we could have abandoned it, but if we had abandoned it we should have gone down to nothingness, a disintegrated chaos of petty republics. We determined that the Union should live, and then it was inevitable that it should come to what it is today. There was nothing inevitable about the Monroe Doctrine. We need never have asserted it, need never have maintained it. Had we failed to do both we should have had Europe established all about us; we should have been forced to become a nation of great standing armies; our growth and power would have been choked and stifled. But we have declared and upheld it. We have insisted that all the world should heed it, and it is one of the signs of the times that in The Hague convention we have obtained at last a formal recognition of it from all the nations of Europe. Yet the Monroe Doctrine is far more than a proposition of international law which we have laid down. Millions of men are ready to fight for that doctrine who could not define its terms, and who have never read, perhaps, the famous message which announced it. That is because the instinct of the people recognizes in that doctrine a great principle of national life. Without clinging to it we should be in constant peril, our evolution would be retarded, our existence menaced. The European power which attempts to establish itself in new possessions in the Americas, whether on a little island or in a continental state, from Patagonia to the Rio Grande, is our enemy. We are ready to fight upon that 'theme until our eyelids do no longer wag.' Is it because we want territory to the south of us? Far from it. It is because we know by instinct that it is a law of our being, a principle of our national life, that no power from over seas shall come into this hemisphere to thwart our policy or to cross our path. The Monroe Doctrine, with all it implies, is inevitable if we are to be true to the laws of our being.

"Like every great nation, we have come more than once in our his-

tory to where the road of fate divided. Thus far we have never failed to take the right path. Again are we come to the parting of the ways. Again a momentous choice is offered to us. Shall we hesitate and make, in coward fashion, what Dante calls 'the great refusal?' Even now we can abandon the Monroe Doctrine, we can reject the Pacific, we can shut ourselves up between our oceans, as Switzerland is inclosed among her hills, and then it would be inevitable that we should sink out from among the great powers of the world and heap up riches that some stronger and bolder people, who do not fear their fate, might gather them. Or we may follow the true laws of our being, the laws in obedience to which we have come to be what we are, and then we shall stretch out into the Pacific; we shall stand in the front rank of the world powers; we shall give to our labor and our industry new and larger and better opportunities; we shall prosper ourselves; we shall benefit mankind. What we have done was inevitable because it was in accordance with the laws of our being as a nation, in the defiance and disregard of which lie ruin and retreat."

CHAPTER X.

THE PHILIPPINES—HOW THEY MAY BE GOVERNED

The Philippine policy of the McKinley administration is the same as the policy of President Thomas Jefferson in regard to Louisiana when that great territory was secured from France in 1803. The bill now before Congress for government control in the Philippines is almost identical with the act passed by Congress in 1803 for the government of Louisiana. It might almost be said that President McKinley and the Republicans in Congress had adopted the Jeffersonian policy in reference to the Philippines. These islands came under the American flag by the fortunes of war and were retained by the Treaty of Peace with Spain. They are now territory belonging to the United States. The time has passed for discussion as to whether they shall be retained, or whether the influence and authority of the United States shall expand to the Philippines. That has already been done, and not by the President alone, but by Congress. The Senate and the House of Representatives have ratified the Treaty of Peace, the Senate by direct vote on that question and the House by passing the bill appropriating \$20,000,000 to be paid to Spain in compensation for public improvements in the Philippines. Democrats as well as the Republicans voted for both these measures. The Treaty of Peace was ratified by a two-thirds vote in the Senate at a time when the Republicans did not have a full majority of that body. The vote in the House on the appropriation bill to carry out the compact of the treaty was almost unanimous. This being the political situation, it is idle for either party to now deny responsibility for securing the Philippines as territory belonging to the United States, or talking of undoing what has been done. "The paramount issue" of "imperialism" raised by the Democratic National Convention is, if it is anything, repudiation of the Treaty of Peace between Spain and the United States after it has gone into effect with the consent of the Democratic party. Mr. Bryan, the Democratic candidate for President, went to Washington to urge Democratic senators to vote for the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, and by so doing he placed himself in accord with President McKinley in recognizing that the flag could not be withdrawn from the Philippines.

Senator Hoar, who has been and will be quoted as opposed to the retention of the Philippines, made his fight against the ratification of the Treaty, and he is now supporting President McKinley. Senator Hoar in a recent letter to the Anti-Imperialist League of Boston said that "the treaty was the great battle-ground in this matter," and "senators who voted for that treaty, whether under Mr. Bryan's influence or for any motive, were quite as bitter and indignant as your expressions now about me." Mr. Hoar then said in the letter to Mr. Winslow:

"Let no one answer this by saying these expressions of sympathy and approval were made because of my position toward imperialism. They were made with full and distinct knowledge on the part of those making them, including yourself, and on the part of the leading anti-imperialists everywhere throughout the country, that I remained a Republican and purposed to support President McKinley and refused to support Mr. Bryan, not only because of all the other objections to him and his party, but because he had interposed when the treaty would otherwise have been beaten and secured its adoption by his personal influence.

"He did not merely fail to prevent the passage of the treaty, as one bright critic of mine has said, but he procured its passage. Without him it would not have been ratified. He, through votes he controlled, bought 10,000,000 people and paid for them at \$2 a head. He made it the law of this land—for all treaties are the law of the land—that the American Congress should dispose of that distinct, alien people, whether they liked it or not.

"And you undertake to defend him by suggesting that he hoped to nullify that action by declaration of one house of Congress. That could be of no possible validity unless concurred in by the House of Representatives and approved by the President; neither of which, as he and as you well knew, was there the slightest hope of at that time.

"I will not debate with you the question whether I am wrong. I expect to debate that question in due time. If you think you can best help the cause of liberty and true Republicanism by voting for the men who are for the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, by voting for men who are for refusing 10,000,000 American citizens suffrage at home, for overthrowing the independence of the Supreme Court, and for destroying the safeguards of property and American labor, very well. Go your way and do your duty as you see it. I shall do mine as I see it, and

I think I can best do it by speaking as a Republican to Republicans; by keeping my right to speak as a counselor and associate of the men who have wrought for liberty in this country since the Treaty of Peace in 1783, and not as the associate or through the instrumentality of the party or men who have been ranged for sixty years on the side of despotism and oppression, of dishonor and of low wages."

It is only fair to Senator Hoar that his position should be understood. He was opposed to the treaty by which the Philippines became territory of the United States. He is opposed to the election of Mr. Bryan and all others who call themselves anti-imperialists in this campaign. He is a Republican supporting President McKinley and the Republican platform.

While men of both parties differed in opinion as to the advisability of retaining the Philippines, and Judge Day, the President of the United States Peace Commission, was opposed to such a proposition, there appeared no other way of deciding their future. Senator Spooner of Wisconsin presented the reasons for keeping them in his speech in the Senate. He said:

"It was hardly to be expected, Mr. President, after our navy had broken the power of Spain in both seas, and after Spain had applied for a suspension of hostilities with a view to a Treaty of Peace, that a people who, without cause of war which it chose to enforce on its own behalf, had poured out its treasure and the blood of its sons for the liberty of another people alien to them, because of cruelty and oppression which could not longer be tolerated, would be willing that in the end of that struggle another people, vastly greater in number, who had also been subject to the same tyranny, should be left in the hands of Spain. By the fortunes of war we were there.

"It would have seemed to the world, many of us thought, that we had carried our flag of liberty to the mountain top, where all the world could see it, and then, afraid to meet responsibility, shuddering from duty, had incontinently run with it into the valley below, where no man could see it or would wish to see it.

"It has been thought that if all mention of the Philippines had been omitted from the treaty, Spain never could have retaken those islands. Mr. President, I have never believed that. I have had no doubt myself that Spain would have resumed her sway in the Philippine Archipelago. I have never seen any reason to doubt it. First, it must be remembered

that we had sent back to Spain 142,000 soldiers, with their arms. Spain, no longer involved in Cuba or in Porto Rico; Spain, vanquished by us, but proud and haughty, would not have been willing to abandon the last of her possessions—that one in the Pacific seas.

“We would have been obliged in honor to march our troops out of Manila and to allow the troops of Spain, in such numbers as she chose, to occupy the city. Spain then had a navy free. Many of the nations of the world sympathized with her. They all would have preferred her retention of the Philippines to strife among themselves for their possession, as there would have been.

“The holders of Spanish bonds all over Europe, based upon a hypothecation of the revenues of Cuba, Porto Rico, and possibly the Philippines, would have been eager to furnish the money, for obvious reasons, to enable Spain to retain her great Pacific possession, and with her fleet and her troops she would, with comparative ease, have resumed her sway in the Philippines.

“We could not do that, we thought; and there was not a man in the Senate then, nor is there one here now, I take it, who would have been willing that all mention of the Philippines should have been omitted from that treaty.

“Even Aguinaldo contemplated the possibility that the treaty might leave the Philippines with Spain, and the certainty that Spain would attempt to resume her sovereignty there. In his letter of August 21, 1898, to the commanding officer of our forces, in reply to the demand that he withdraw his forces from Manila, he stated thus one of the conditions of such withdrawal:

“They also (referring to the Filipinos) desire that if in consequence of the Treaty of Peace which may be concluded between the United States of America and Spain the Philippines should continue under the domination of the latter, the American forces should give up all the suburbs to the Filipinos, in consideration of the co-operation lent by the latter in the capture of Manila.”

“In reply to this he was informed that in the event of the United States withdrawing from these islands care would be taken to leave him in as advantageous position as he was found by the forces of the Government.”

Senator Spooner also replied to the assertion that Aguinaldo and his insurgent followers were allies of the United States.

"It has been said that until hostilities broke out Aguinaldo was our ally. Senators have treated the performances of Aguinaldo after August 12, 1898, the date of the protocol, as acts done in aid of our cause, acts done as an ally of ours. That, Mr. President, is an impossibility. We could not, as I say, have fired a shot at a Spanish soldier or at the Spanish flag anywhere in the Philippine Archipelago, for by agreement hostilities were suspended. No more could Aguinaldo do this as an ally of ours or acting in our interest or by our procurement, for we could not honorably do through another what it would be a breach of honor to do ourselves.

"Aguinaldo knew of the protocol, for he was informed in writing by General Otis and General Anderson that the protocol had created international relations and obligations between Spain and ourselves which we must observe, and which we could not observe if we entered into such an agreement as he proposed.

"So it must be taken as settled, it cannot be escaped, that from the date of the protocol, whatever Aguinaldo did against Spain in the archipelago he did on his own account, and not for the United States, and he did little. As I said, he simply marched in where Spain marched out in certain places, Iloilo having been abandoned by order of the Spanish Government, Aguinaldo's forces having been unable to take it, after the demand for the cession had been made by our commissioners and after Spain had yielded to it.

"Another thing about it, Mr. President. If Aguinaldo had by his troops, after the protocol, captured Iloilo and other cities and extended his military power throughout the Philippines, it is very difficult, as a matter of international law, to see that that could have been efficacious for him or his so-called government as against us. The status could not be changed there by him except in hostility both to Spain and to us, and the principle contended for is not to be admitted."

The anti-expansionists have never answered this statement of the relations of Aguinaldo to this Government. He was not an ally. He could not have been, and the very witnesses which he called to present proof that he was an ally have denied it in most positive terms. These witnesses are Admiral Dewey, General Otis, General Merritt, General Anderson, and in fact every American navy and army officer who has been in the Philippines. They all refused to have any relations with him except as a Filipino who was fighting against Spain. The question

of acquiring the Philippines was, as has been said, settled by the ratification of the Treaty of Peace in February, 1899. The only question now before the Government and the people of the United States is as to how they shall be governed. Before the treaty was ratified in January, 1899, President McKinley appointed a civil commission to go to the Philippines and assist in formulating civil government in the islands. That commission was composed of J. G. Schurman, President of Cornell University; Charles Denby, for twelve years Minister to China, and Dean C. Worcester of Michigan State University. Admiral Dewey and General Otis, the naval and military commanders in the Philippines, were made members of the commission. The President's instructions show the purpose he had in view. In his letter of instructions the President said:

"The commissioners will endeavor, without interference with the military authorities of the United States now in control of the Philippines, to ascertain what amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants and what improvements in public order may be practicable, and for this purpose they will study attentively the existing social and political state of the various populations, particularly as regards the forms of local government, the administration of justice, the collection of customs and other taxes, the means of transportation, and the need of public improvements. They will report through the Department of State, according to the forms customary or hereafter prescribed for transmitting and preserving such communications, the results of their observations and reflections, and will recommend such executive action as may from time to time seem to them wise and useful.

"The commissioners are hereby authorized to confer authoritatively with any persons resident in the islands from whom they may believe themselves able to derive information or suggestions valuable for the purposes of their commission, or whom they may choose to employ as agents, as may be necessary for this purpose.

"The temporary government of the islands is intrusted to the military authorities, as already provided for by my instructions to the Secretary of War of December 21, 1898, and will continue until Congress shall determine otherwise. The commission may render valuable services by examining with special care the legislative needs of the various groups of inhabitants, and by reporting, with recommendations, the measures which should be instituted for the maintenance of order,

peace, and public welfare, either as temporary steps to be taken immediately for the perfection of present administration, or as suggestions for future legislation.

"In so far as immediate personal changes in the civil administration may seem to be advisable, the commissioners are empowered to recommend suitable persons for appointment for these offices from among the inhabitants of the islands who have previously acknowledged their allegiance to this Government.

"It is my desire that in all their relations with the inhabitants of the islands the commissioners exercise due respect for all the ideals, customs and institutions of the tribes which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and beneficent intentions of the Government of the United States. It is also my wish and expectation that the commissioners may be received in a manner due to the honored and authorized representatives of the American Republic, duly commissioned on account of their knowledge, skill, and integrity as bearers of the good will, the protection, and the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation.

"WILLIAM McKINLEY."

At the time of the appointment of this commission peace existed in the islands. But the insurgents prepared for a general attack upon the United States troops, and that attack was made on February 4, 1899. On February 15 Aguinaldo issued a general order for the massacre of all foreigners in Manila. The commission was not appointed as a "Peace Commission," as it has been called. When the commission arrived at Manila it set to work to discover what it might do to help in bringing these hostilities to an end. To clear away any misunderstanding the natives might have as to the purpose of this Government the commission issued a public proclamation on this point.

"The commission desire to assure the people of the Philippine Islands of the cordial good will and fraternal feeling which is entertained for them by His Excellency, the President of the United States, and by the American people. The aim and object of the American Government, apart from the fulfillment of the solemn obligations it has assumed toward the family of nations by the acceptance of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, is the well being, the prosperity and the

happiness of the Philippine people, and their elevation and advancement to a position among the most civilized peoples of the world.

“His Excellency the President of the United States believes that this felicity and perfection of the Philippine people is to be brought about by the assurance of peace and order; by the guaranty of civil and religious liberty; by the establishment of justice; by the cultivation of letters, science, and the liberal and practical arts; by the enlargement of intercourse with foreign nations; by the expansion of industrial pursuits, trade, and commerce; by the multiplication and improvement of the means of internal communication; by the development, with the aid of modern mechanical inventions, of the great natural resources of the archipelago; and, in a word, by the uninterrupted devotion of the people to the pursuit of those useful objects and the realization of those noble ideals which constitute the higher civilization of mankind.

“Unfortunately, the pure aims and purposes of the American Government and people have been misinterpreted to some of the inhabitants of certain of the islands. As a consequence, the friendly American forces have, without provocation or cause, been openly attacked.

“And why these hostilities? What do the best Filipinos desire? Can it be more than the United States is ready to give? They are patriots and want liberty, it is said. The commission emphatically asserts that the United States is not only willing, but anxious, to establish in the Philippine Islands an enlightened system of government under which the Philippine people may enjoy the largest measure of home rule and the amplest liberty consonant with the supreme ends of government and compatible with those obligations which the United States has assumed toward the civilized nations of the world.

“The United States striving earnestly for the welfare and advancement of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, there can be no real conflict between American sovereignty and the rights and liberties of the Philippine people. For, just as the United States stands ready to furnish armies, navies, and all the infinite resources of a great and powerful nation to maintain and support its rightful supremacy over the Philippine Islands, so it is even more solicitous to spread peace and happiness among the Philippine people; to guarantee them a rightful freedom; to protect them in their just privileges and immunities; to accustom them to free self-government in an ever-increasing measure;

and to encourage them in those democratic aspirations, sentiments, and ideals which are the promise and potency of a fruitful national development."

The commission then laid down eleven cardinal principles as to the government of the islands, as follows:

1. The supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the archipelago, and those who resist it can accomplish no end other than their own ruin.

2. The most ample liberty of self-government will be granted to the Philippine people which is reconcilable with the maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective, and economical administration of public affairs, and compatible with the sovereign and international rights and obligations of the United States.

3. The civil rights of the Philippine people will be guaranteed and protected to the fullest extent; religious freedom assured, and all persons shall have an equal standing before the law.

4. Honor, justice, and friendship forbid the use of the Philippine people or islands as an object or means of exploitation. The purpose of the American Government is the welfare and advancement of the Philippine people.

5. There shall be guaranteed to the Philippine people an honest and effective civil service, in which, to the fullest extent practicable, natives shall be employed.

6. The collection and application of taxes and revenues will be put upon a sound, honest, and economical basis. Public funds, raised justly and collected honestly, will be applied only in defraying the regular and proper expenses incurred by and for the establishment and maintenance of the Philippine government, and for such general improvements as public interests may demand. Local funds, collected for local purposes, shall not be diverted to other ends. With such a prudent and honest fiscal administration, it is believed that the needs of the government will in a short time become compatible with a considerable reduction in taxation.

7. A pure, speedy, and effective administration of justice will be established, whereby the evils of delay, corruption, and exploitation will be effectually eradicated.

8. The construction of roads, railroads, and other means of com-

munication and transportation, as well as other public works of manifest advantage to the Philippine people, will be promoted.

9. Domestic and foreign trade and commerce, agriculture, and other industrial pursuits, and the general development of the country in the interest of its inhabitants will be constant objects of solicitude and fostering care.

10. Effective provision will be made for the establishment of elementary schools in which the children of the people shall be educated. Appropriate facilities will also be provided for higher education.

11. Reforms in all departments of the government, in all branches of the public service, and in all corporations closely touching the common life of the people must be undertaken without delay and effected, conformably to right and justice, in a way that will satisfy the well-founded demands and the highest sentiments and aspirations of the Philippine people.

Translations of this proclamation were made into Spanish and into Tagalog and other dialects. These were circulated through the provinces and posted about Manila. The insurgents under Aguinaldo tried to prevent this proclamation reaching the Filipinos. They tore them down whenever posted; they punished all natives found reading the proclamation. They even killed some natives who tried to give circulation to the proclamation of this Government. But the proclamation did bring many natives into the American lines. They deserted Aguinaldo. The business men in Manila were opposed to the insurgent leader. They were anxious to accept the sovereignty of the United States. Colonel Arguelles, one of the insurgent leaders, came to the commission seeking a suspension of hostilities. He admitted that the propositions of this Government were fair, that the natives were not ready for independence, and on behalf of Aguinaldo he agreed to accept the sovereignty of the United States and said he was authorized to do so. This was repeated to the President, and in the following message Secretary Hay, the position of the Government was again stated from Washington:

“Washington, May 5, 1899—10:20 P. M.

“Schurman, Manila:

“Yours 4th received. You are authorized to propose that under the military power of the President, pending action of Congress, government of the Philippine Islands shall consist of a Governor-General

appointed by the President; cabinet appointed by the Governor-General; a general advisory council elected by the people; the qualifications of electors to be carefully considered and determined; and the Governor-General to have absolute veto. Judiciary strong and independent; principal judges appointed by the President. The cabinet and judges to be chosen from natives or Americans, or both, having regard to fitness. The President earnestly desires the cessation of bloodshed, and that the people of the Philippine Islands at an early date shall have the largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order.

HAY."

But Aguinaldo accused Colonel Arguelles of becoming Americanized and repudiated him. Other emissaries from Aguinaldo made agreements which were not carried out, and the insurrection continued until broken by the force of American arms, and Aguinaldo again became a fugitive from the islands.

The Philippine Commission made a long report to the President, in which they laid down these conclusions:

"In connection with the subject of government the commission has reached the following conclusions:

"1. The United States cannot withdraw from the Philippines. We are there and duty binds us to remain. There is no escape from our responsibility to the Filipinos and to mankind for the government of the archipelago and the amelioration of the condition of the inhabitants.

"2. The Filipinos are wholly unprepared for independence, and if independence were given to them they could not maintain it.

"3. As to Aguinaldo's claim that he was promised independence or that an alliance was made with him, Admiral Dewey makes the following communication to the commission:

"The statement of Emilio Aguinaldo, under date of September 23, published in the Springfield Republican, so far as it relates to reported conversations with me, or actions of mine, is a tissue of falsehoods. I never, directly or indirectly, promised the Filipinos independence. I never received Aguinaldo with military honors, or recognized or saluted the so-called Filipino flag. I never considered him as an ally, although I did make use of him and the natives to assist me in my operations against the Spaniards."

"4. There being no Philippine nation, but only a collection of different peoples, there is no general public opinion in the archipelago; but the men of property and education, who alone interest themselves in public affairs, in general recognize as indispensable American authority, guidance, and protection.

"5. Congress should, at the earliest practicable time, provide for the Philippines the form of government herein recommended or another equally liberal and beneficent.

"6. Pending any action on the part of Congress, the commission recommends that the President put in operation this scheme of civil government in such parts of the archipelago as are at peace.

"7. So far as the finances of the Philippines permit, public education should be promptly established, and when established made free to all.

"8. The greatest care should be taken in the selection of officials for administration. They should be men of the highest character and fitness, and partisan politics should be entirely separated from the government of the Philippines."

President McKinley in his last annual message to Congress discussed this question, saying:

"The future government of the Philippines rests with the Congress of the United States. Few graver responsibilities have ever been confided to us. If we accept them in a spirit worthy of our race and our traditions, a great opportunity comes with them. The islands lie under the shelter of our flag. They are ours by every title of law and equity. They cannot be abandoned. If we desert them we leave them at once to anarchy and finally to barbarism. We fling them, a golden apple of discord, among the rival powers, no one of which could permit another to seize them unquestioned. Their rich plains and valleys would be the scene of endless strife and bloodshed. The advent of Dewey's fleet in Manila Bay instead of being, as we hope, the dawn of a new day of freedom and progress, will have been the beginning of an era of misery and violence worse than any which has darkened their unhappy past. The suggestion has been made that we could renounce our authority over the islands and, giving them independence, could retain a protectorate over them. This proposition will not be found, I am sure, worthy of your serious attention. Such an arrangement would involve at the outset a cruel breach of faith. It would place the peaceable and loyal

majority, who ask nothing better than to accept our authority, at the mercy of the minority of armed insurgents. It would make us responsible for the acts of the insurgent leaders and give us no power to control them. It would charge us with the task of protecting them against each other and defending them against any foreign power with which they chose to quarrel. In short, it would take from the Congress of the United States the power of declaring war and vest that tremendous prerogative in the Tagal leader of the hour.

"It does not seem desirable that I should recommend at this time a specific and final form of government for these islands. When peace shall be restored it will be the duty of Congress to construct a plan of government which shall establish and maintain freedom and order and peace in the Philippines. The insurrection is still existing, and when it terminates further information will be required as to the actual condition of affairs before inaugurating a permanent scheme of civil government. The full report of the commission, now in preparation, will contain information and suggestions which will be of value to Congress, and which I will transmit as soon as it is completed. As long as the insurrection continues the military arm must necessarily be supreme. But there is no reason why steps should not be taken from time to time to inaugurate governments essentially popular in their form as fast as territory is held and controlled by our troops. To this end I am considering the advisability of the return of the commission, or such of the members thereof as can be secured, to aid the existing authorities and facilitate this work throughout the islands. I have believed that reconstruction should not begin by the establishment of one central civil government for all the islands, with its seat at Manila, but rather that the work should be commenced by building up from the bottom, first establishing municipal governments and then provincial governments, a central government at last to follow.

"Until Congress shall have made the formal expression of its will I shall use the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes to uphold the sovereignty of the United States in those distant islands as in all other places where our flag rightfully floats. I shall put at the disposal of the army and navy all the means which the liberality of Congress and the people have provided to cause this unprovoked and wasteful insurrection to cease. If any orders of mine were required to insure the merciful conduct of military and naval operations,

they would not be lacking; but every step of the progress of our troops has been marked by a humanity which has surprised even the misguided insurgents. The truest kindness to them will be a swift and effective defeat of their present leader. The hour of victory will be the hour of clemency and reconstruction.

"No effort will be spared to build up the waste places desolated by war and by long years of misgovernment. We shall not wait for the end of strife to begin the beneficent work. We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade and agriculture, and in every way in our power to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance. Our flag has never waved over any community but in blessing. I believe the Filipinos will soon recognize the fact that it has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores."

Senator Spooner of Wisconsin introduced a bill for the government of the Philippines. It is still before Congress. It is as follows:

"Be it enacted, etc., That when all insurrection against the sovereignty and authority of the United States in the Philippine Islands, acquired from Spain by the treaty concluded at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898, shall have been completely suppressed by the military and naval forces of the United States, all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the said islands shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct by maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion."

To show how closely the bill conforms to the first legislation of the kind in the administration of Thomas Jefferson, the second section of an act approved October 31, 1803, to enable the President to take possession of Louisiana, is reproduced:

"Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That until the expiration of the present session of Congress, unless provision for the temporary government of said territories be sooner made by Congress, all the military, civil and judicial powers exercised by the officers of the existing government of the same shall be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner, as the President of the United States

shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion."

The Philippine policy of President McKinley is the policy adopted toward new and unknown territory by Thomas Jefferson when President. Until Congress is prepared to define the political status of the inhabitants of the Philippines, the President must govern. He is now exercising the only authority he has to govern by the military power vested in him by the Constitution. The Spooner bill when passed will give him a civil power in the Philippines. And it will probably be many years before the exact form of government for all the islands and provinces in the Philippines is defined by Congress, because this must be done after full knowledge as to the capability of the natives for government is in the possession of Congress. The people of the United States are not ready to admit these islands as territories with the hope of statehood before them. That is a question for the future. It required nearly a hundred years to bring all the Louisiana territory into the Union, and it will be no injustice to the Filipinos if they are kept out of the Union for that long or longer.

Democrats and Republicans clothed with responsibility as senators and representatives are considering this question, not in bitter partisanship, but as a great problem before the American people, which calls for the highest order of constructive legislation. Senator McLaurin of South Carolina, a Democrat whose loyalty to his party has never been questioned, discussed this question fairly and freely in the Senate and said:

"What is the actual situation there to-day? In the Philippines, acquired in the same way and as rightfully subject to the sovereignty of the United States as Porto Rico and Cuba, some portion of the people have refused to recognize this sovereignty. It is not the Philippine nation who have set up the standard of rebellion and defy the authority of the United States. We are opposed by a part of the tribe of the Tagalos, who inhabit less than one-half of the island of Luzon. There are hundreds of other islands, whose people speak more than sixty different languages, who are ready to accept American sovereignty. I have no doubt that men of property and intelligence are anxious for us to protect them and their industries. Yet, in the face of these facts, it is stated and reiterated upon this floor that the peoples of the archipelago are in rebellion, contending for liberty and independence.

It is also contended that the United States is the aggressor and responsible for this war.

"I deny that proposition. It is inconsistent with our record as a nation. Who can believe that the United States, with her traditions, her history, and her achievements, would seek in shame and dishonor to oppress any people and sacrifice the lives of her citizens in such an unholy cause? Those who thus attempt to besmirch her fair name proclaim to the world that we are living and practicing a lie in our republican institutions. I do not propose to attempt an analysis of all the conflicting facts compiled in reports, correspondence, and military orders. I am content to say that I do not believe that Admiral Dewey, with his cool head and love of fair dealing, would have countenanced any effort on the part of our military commanders, or even of the President, to embroil us in a conflict with the Tagalos. On the contrary, I believe that he and the other officers exhausted all means of negotiation to avert a conflict.

"I do not believe the war was provoked or premeditated by the representatives of the United States, but was the consummation of a plan of the wily Aguinaldo to bully the United States into an arrangement to satisfy his personal ambition. The firing of a gun on the picket line and the killing of a Tagalo was a fortuitous incident. It was no justification for a rebellion, but was seized upon as a pretext to give a semblance of right in fomenting an insurrection. Without the firing of the gun, some other incident would have been the subterfuge. But it is contended that the United States made promises of self-government. As to that I have no doubt that these islands will be given the best government they have ever had and the largest measure of self-government of which they are capable.

"I do not believe that it was ever the intention of the President or anyone with authority to speak for the United States to commit us to any definite action in dealing with these people with reference to their future government. No one was invested with such authority, for under the treaty with Spain, and under our Constitution, Congress alone has the power to fix the civil and political status of the inhabitants of acquired territory. Before the treaty of peace was ratified, and before Congress had the opportunity to declare its purpose, there was open rebellion against the authority of the United States. It is true that the authority of the President was supreme until there was legislation,

but in the exercise of his power all he could rightfully do was to be guided by the treaty with Spain, and to hold the islands and assert the sovereignty of the United States over them.

* * *

"I am a Democrat, loyal to the party and its principles; but I am not an automaton, nor a slave to be moved by the party lash. I am trying to represent what I believe is best for my people and my section, and am content to let the future speak for itself. The Constitution, as the handiwork of the fathers, has my love and reverence; but, Mr. President, there is something higher than the letter of the law. Whenever in our past history the Constitution has come into conflict with the national sense of right and duty, it has given way.

"Like the Sabbath, the Constitution was made for man, not man for the Constitution. The creature cannot be greater than the creator, and when as a nation we rise higher in moral purpose and greatness than the Constitution it has been changed, and changed more often by construction than amendment. The progress and the growth of our nation can have, and shall have, no constitutional restrictions which prevent its fullest development.

"Under a destiny unforeseen and uncontrolled by us, the power and institutions of the United States have been planted in the East. I believe that if we do our duty, it means not only the elevation and uplifting of the peoples of that far-off land, but that it will add to the power and glory of our free institutions and the commercial supremacy of the nation."

The President has sent another commission to the Philippines, of which Judge W. H. Taft of Ohio is the President. This commission is engaged in studying the conditions, customs and laws in the islands with a view to preparing a new code, and will make recommendations to the President and Congress. When the Spooner bill becomes a law a civil government will be established in the Philippines similar to that established in Louisiana by President Thomas Jefferson.

CHAPTER XI.

PORTO RICO—RELATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES

The Island of Porto Rico belongs to the United States, but it is not an integral part of the United States. This has been declared by the Treaty of Paris, by Congress and by the Federal courts. The Treaty of Peace with Spain by which the island was ceded to the United States provides that "the civil rights and political status of the inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress." In this particular the treaty with Spain is different from other treaties by which territory has been ceded to the United States. In all other treaties the political status and civil rights of the people in the territory ceded, as citizens, etc., of the United States was defined in the treaty which was binding on Congress. Louisiana, in 1803 and Florida in 1809, were purchased, New Mexico and California by conquest and purchase, Alaska by purchase, Texas by annexation and some other territory by cession from the original States. In all these cases the territory became at once on approval of the treaty, by reason of its terms, a part of the United States and the people were clothed with the rights of citizens. By the ratification of the treaty with Spain the people of Porto Rico did not become citizens but remained native inhabitants with their political status and civil rights to be determined by Congress.

Congress after much deliberation and one of the most elaborate discussions in recent years, passed a bill creating a civil government for Porto Rico in which the inhabitants are designated as "citizens of Porto Rico," not as citizens of the United States. This distinction was deliberately made for the purpose of asserting the sovereign authority of Congress over the territory, and denying the old Calhoun doctrine that the Constitution by its own force extended over all territory as soon as acquired, giving all the rights of citizenship to the inhabitants of the territory as soon as it was ceded to the United States.

The Republican party in its first National Convention in 1856 denounced this doctrine of John C. Calhoun and asserted the same right which Congress has exercised in legislating for Porto Rico. One of the planks in that first Republican platform adopted at Philadelphia forty-four years ago was as follows:

"Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the territories for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery."

The Republican convention of 1860, which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President, reiterated the same declaration in the following language:

"That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country."

The Fifty-sixth Congress exercised the right of sovereign power over the island of Porto Rico and gave the inhabitants of that island a civil government as liberal as any enjoyed by the territories of the United States, but drawing the line at citizenship in the United States, for the reason that only ten per cent of these inhabitants can read and write, and none have had experience in self-government to qualify them for American citizenship. Congress has left the inhabitants of Porto Rico to be admitted to citizenship when they are more capable of wisely exercising the rights and duties of citizenship.

The Porto Rico tariff provision, over which there was so much controversy in Congress, is a means of raising revenue for the island, and it is to remain in force until the legislative assembly of the island shall have enacted and put in operation a system of local taxation to meet the necessities of the government of Porto Rico, and shall duly notify the President, when it will be his duty under the law to make proclamation of that fact and therefore all tariff duties between the United States and Porto Rico shall cease. And if the government of Porto Rico does not provide a method of local taxation to raise revenue all tariff barriers between the island and the United States shall be removed the first day of March, 1902, and there shall be free trade between all the ports of the island and all the ports of the country. This tariff provision is not a hardship upon the people of Porto Rico, but the reverse, since it provides revenues for the local government without local taxation such as is enforced in every State and Territory in the United States.

All food products from this country are admitted into Porto Rico

free of duty and all Porto Rico products which would be subject to the Dingley tariff rates are admitted to this country at 15 per cent of the Dingley rates, and all these revenues collected in this country as well as those collected in Porto Rico are to be set apart to meet the expenses of the Porto Rico government. The sugar and coffee and tobacco planters pay this duty and the whole people of Porto Rico get the benefit of it. The constitutional question set aside, the legislation for Porto Rico is more generous than that for any territory of the United States that has been organized since the beginning of the government.

The act passed by Congress creating a civil government for Porto Rico provides that the same tariffs, customs and duties shall be levied and collected upon all articles imported into Porto Rico from other ports than those in the United States, which are required by law to be collected upon articles imported into the United States. It makes, however, these exceptions: On all coffee imported into Porto Rico there shall be levied and collected a duty of 5 cents per pound. This is the first discrimination in the law and it is in favor of Porto Rico. All coffee coming into the United States is duty free as no coffee is produced in this country. But one of the principle products of Porto Rico is coffee and the principle of protection is applied in the law to protect the coffee industry in the island from foreign competition. If Porto Rico had been regarded as a part of the United States entitled to free trade with this country its coffee could not have been protected.

The law also excepts for ten years all Spanish scientific, literary and artistic work not subversive to public order and these are to be admitted free of duty; also all books and pamphlets printed in the English language are to be admitted free of duty when imported from the United States.

Then the act provides that all merchandise coming into the United States from Porto Rico and into Porto Rico from the United States shall be entered at the several ports of entry upon the payment of fifteen per cent of the duties which are by law required to be paid upon such articles when imported from a foreign country. This is the second discrimination in the law. It is against Porto Rico considered as a part of the United States and in favor of Porto Rico with the island considered as not a part of the United States entitled to free trade. There is an exception to this provision which makes free of duty all articles imported into Porto Rico which the President by executive order had made

free of duty. This list includes the following articles: Flour, bacon, rice, pork, codfish, mutton, fresh beef, coopers' models and wood cut for making casks for sugar or molasses, bags for sugar, machinery for making and refining sugar, plows, hoes, machetes, agricultural implements, hatchets, rough lumber, school furniture and lime.

All articles on the free list in the United States are of course free in Porto Rico whether imported from the United States or a foreign country. All articles of Porto Rican manufacture or production which would come under the Internal revenue laws of this country must pay the internal revenue tax provided by law when they are imported into the United States. Otherwise they bear no taxation because no internal revenue is collected in the island.

This whole tariff provision in the law is to remain in force until March 1, 1902, unless the legislative assembly of Porto Rico shall before that time provide and put in operation a system of local taxation to meet the necessary expenses of the government of the island. Whenever the legislative assembly shall provide this system of local taxation all tariff duties shall be abolished and the island have absolute free trade with the United States. But whether the assembly shall provide this system or not the present tariff law shall be in force only until March 1, 1902, and after that there shall be free trade.

Section 4 provides that all the money collected under this tariff law shall be held in a separate fund by the United States Treasury and placed at the disposal of the President to be used for the government and benefit of Porto Rico. This includes not only the duties collected in Porto Rico, but those collected in the United States upon Porto Rican products. When the civil government was established in Porto Rico all collections made in the island were under this law paid into the treasury of Porto Rico.

The general provisions of the law are: That the capital of Porto Rico shall be at the City of San Juan; that all the inhabitants excepting those who choose to remain citizens of Spain and return to that country, "shall be citizens of Porto Rico and as such entitled to the protection of the United States;" that the laws and ordinances now in force in Porto Rico shall continue in effect except as altered, amended or modified hereafter; that the law which was in force at the time of cession forbidding the marriage of priests, ministers or followers of any faith because of vows they may have taken, and continued by the order promul-

gated by Major-General Henry, is repealed and annulled and that all persons lawfully married in Porto Rico shall have all the rights and remedies conferred by law upon the parties to either civil or religious marriages. The law also provides for the nationalization of all vessels owned by citizens of Porto Rico and for their admission to the benefits of the coasting trade of the United States; it also provides for the establishment of quarantine stations and the Marine Hospital service in the island. Section 10 provides that for the purpose of retiring the Porto Rican coins in circulation and substituting therefor the coins of the United States the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to redeem all silver coins of Porto Rico known as the peso and all other silver and copper coins in circulation in the island at the established rate of sixty cents in the coins of the United States for one peso of Porto Rican coin and for all minor or subsidiary coins the same rate of exchange.

All expenses incurred on account of the government of Porto Rico for salaries of officials and the conduct of their offices shall be paid by the treasurer of the island out of the revenues in his custody. The statutory laws of the United States not locally inapplicable are to have the same force and effect in Porto Rico as in the United States except the internal revenue laws. All judicial process in the island shall run in the name of the "United States of America SS:" and "The President of the United States" and all criminal or penal prosecutions in the local courts are to be conducted in the name "the people of Porto Rico."

The law provides for a Chief Executive officer who shall be known as the Governor of Porto Rico. He is appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate and he holds his office for a term of four years. He must reside in Porto Rico and maintain his office at the capital of the island. He has the power to grant pardons and reprieves and remit fines for the offenses against the laws of Porto Rico and respites for offenses against the laws of the United States until the decision of the President can be ascertained. He has the power of veto, is commander-in-chief of the militia and must annually make report to the President of the United States.

An executive council is provided, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. This council shall be made up of five executive officers, namely, a secretary, an attorney general, a treasurer, an auditor, a commissioner of the interior and a commissioner of education, who shall have executive duties to perform and shall also, with

five other persons who shall be native inhabitants of Porto Rico, constitute the executive council. There shall also be a House of Delegates, to consist of thirty-five members elected by the voters of Porto Rico, and this House of Delegates and the Executive Council shall be designated as the Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico. For the purposes of election the island is divided into seven districts, and each district shall be entitled to five members of the House of Delegates. At these elections all citizens of Porto Rico shall be allowed to vote who have been bona fide residents of the district for one year and who possess the other qualifications of voters under the laws and military orders in force at the time of the passage of the law.

The Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court and the Marshal are to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, while the judges of the District Court are appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Executive Council. The law provides for a United States District Court, and this court shall have jurisdiction of all cases cognizant in the Circuit Courts of the United States. The laws of the United States relating to appeals, writs of error, etc., shall govern in such matters and proceedings as between the District Court of the United States and the courts of Porto Rico. Writs of error and appeals from the final decisions of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico and the District Courts of the United States shall be allowed and may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States in the same manner as from the Supreme Courts of Territories of the United States.

The Legislature of Porto Rico, consisting of the Executive Council and the House of Delegates, has authority over all matters that would come under the authority of a Territorial Legislature, including power to create, consolidate and reorganize municipalities; also to repeal or modify all laws now in force in the island. But all grants of franchises and concessions of a quasi-public nature shall be made by the Executive Council with the approval of the Governor, and must be reported to Congress, which reserves the power to annul or modify them.

This act creating a civil government for Porto Rico is in many particulars similar to the acts for the organization of Territories. Its chief differences from these acts is in not making the inhabitants of the island citizens of the United States, and in not applying the internal revenue laws there. There were valid reasons for both these exceptions. Congress was not ready to incorporate the inhabitants of Porto Rico and

the Philippines into the Union. The treaty of Paris had made a distinction in this matter by not pledging the government to make them citizens. We had taken these islands not because we desired them, but because the cause of humanity and our own peace and security dictated that they should not continue under the control of Spain. The treaty left the political status of the inhabitants to be determined by Congress, and Congress without the fullest investigation did not feel warranted in making them citizens. It was considered advisable to give them a civil government, but not to incorporate them into the citizenship of the United States. That is left to the developments of the future.

The President, in his message said, "The time is ripe for the adoption of a temporary form of government for Porto Rico." In the course of his discussion of this subject he said:

"It must be borne in mind that since the cession Porto Rico has been denied the principal markets she had long enjoyed, and our tariffs have been continued against her products as when she was under Spanish sovereignty. The markets of Spain are closed to her products except upon terms to which the commerce of all nations is subjected. The island of Cuba, which used to buy her cattle and tobacco without customs duties, now imposes the same duties upon these products as from any other country entering her ports. She has therefore lost her free intercourse with Spain and Cuba without any compensating benefits in this market. Her coffee was little known and not in use by our people, and therefore there was no demand here for this, one of her chief products. The markets of the United States should be opened up to her products. Our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico and give her products free access to our markets."

These were the President's recommendations, and in trying to follow them Congress enacted the law which provides a government for Porto Rico.

The law does not grant to Porto Rico free trade with the United States at once. The legal Dingley tariff has been reduced 85 per cent, and only 15 per cent is left on imports from Porto Rico. That 15 per cent is returned to Porto Rico to pay the expenses of the government in the island. The law was like the war, a humanitarian measure, for the benefit of Porto Rico and not for the benefit of the United States. In the discussion of this bill it was asked why not treat Porto Rico as

well as the Territories. The answer was that Congress proposed to treat Porto Rico better than it had treated the Territories. Porto Rico was an orphan and appealed to the sympathies of this government. The committee which framed the bill found that if a civil government were provided for Porto Rico as the President recommended there would be necessary for its support not less than \$3,000,000 a year. They found also that an additional million dollars would be required to support the municipal governments of the island, making an aggregate of not less than \$4,000,000. They found that the total valuation of property of all kinds situated in the island would not exceed, for taxation purposes, \$100,000,000. They found that this property was already burdened with a private debt, evidenced by mortgages on record to the amount of about \$26,000,000 of principal, with an accumulation of several years' interest at extravagant rates, that swelled the sum to probably \$30,000,000. They found, in short, that poverty, bankruptcy, and ruin prevailed everywhere.

The committee also found that the public revenues of the island, except only such as were raised by a burdensome and complicated excise tax on incomes and business vocations, had always been chiefly raised by duties on imports and exports, a system with which the people were therefore familiar. The committee further found that this system was already in operation, and that revenues were then and constantly being collected, upon which, so far as they went, the government could at once depend. The committee further found that our internal revenue laws, if applied in that island, would prove oppressive and ruinous to many people and interests. The committee also found that the coffee grown in Porto Rico is of the highest grade and quality, and that it has always been protected by a tariff duty high enough to keep out of Porto Rico the cheap and low grades of coffee grown in Central and South America. We do not grow coffee, and therefore we admit it into the United States free of duty.

The committee in framing its bill decided first to find some way to exempt the people of the island from direct taxation of their property, such as every State and Territory had always been subject to. They next decided not to enforce the internal revenue laws in Porto Rico—and that the revenues for the island should be by a tax on importations. But it was found that the tariff duties applied under the Dingley law, on importations from foreign countries would not raise sufficient reve-

nue for the civil government. To make up the deficit the committee decided to apply a part of the Dingley rates on importations from the United States and also reduce the Dingley rates in this country 85 per cent and give all this revenue to the island for two years. It was a unique plan and met opposition from Republicans as well as Democrats, but it prevailed because it was the only means of supporting the new civil government to be inaugurated without burdening the people with direct taxation for which their misfortunes had disqualified them. The law was unique in its generosity. No such exemption from the burdens of local taxation was ever given to a Territory in the United States. For instance, Arizona last year paid into the United States Treasury in internal revenue taxes \$251,653 and \$49,650 of this was returned to the Territory in providing a government. New Mexico and Oklahoma presented similar figures, while Alaska paid \$1,190,282 into the Treasury and received only \$263,150 in the way of support for the territorial government.

The people of a Territory pay taxes for the support of the General Government precisely the same as do the people of the States. If a resident in New Mexico makes cigars, for example, he pays the same internal-revenue taxes as are paid by a resident of Minnesota. In both cases the money collected goes into the National Treasury. In neither case does any of it go back to the State or to the Territory for the building of roads or the support of schools therein. The very purpose of organizing a Territory is to give the people therein control and management of such purely local matters. And the expenses for these local improvements—wagon roads, bridges, schools, the care of the poor and other unfortunates, and other purely local affairs—are paid, in the Territories as in the States, by direct taxation of the persons and property therein.

Not a dollar is appropriated from the National Treasury for such things in the Territories any more than for similar things in the States. The only money that goes from the National Treasury into either States or Territories, with very rare exceptions, is that which goes to pay for the improvement of rivers and harbors, the construction of Federal buildings, the payment of postmasters and other Federal officials, and such other expenditures as are Federal in their nature. The only exception to this rule is in the case of Porto Rico in treating her better than we have ever before treated any Territory of the United States!

The tariff provision of this law is unique but not unprecedented in

its continuance of tariff duties against Porto Rican products into this country for two years or less. When Louisiana was annexed the Secretary of the Treasury gave directions that "until otherwise provided for the same duties are to be collected on the importation of goods in the Mississippi district from New Orleans and vice versa, as heretofore."

In 1819 when Florida was annexed the Treasury Department made the same decision, and when Texas was annexed in 1845 the Treasury Department gave this instruction to collectors of customs:

"First. Although there is now a solemn compact obligatory upon both parties for the admission of Texas as a State of the Union, yet until further action of the Congress of the United States upon this subject, and instructions founded thereon from this Department, you will collect duties, as heretofore, upon all the imports from Texas into the United States."

A similar question arose in relation to exports from Florida into New Orleans in 1819, when it was decided by the Treasury Department "that all goods which have been, or may be, imported from Pensacola, before an act of Congress shall be passed, erecting it into a collection district, and authorizing the appointment of an officer to reside thereat, for the purpose of superintending the collection of duties, will be liable to duty."

When Hawaii was annexed in 1898 the joint resolution adopted by Congress contained this provision:

"Until legislation shall be enacted extending the United States customs laws and regulations to the Hawaiian Islands the existing customs relations of the Hawaiian Islands with the United States and other countries shall remain unchanged."

Thus we see that all through history it has been the practice of the government to allow a period of time to elapse after the acquirement of territory before extending over that territory the Constitution and the laws of the United States. The length of time has always been fixed by Congress, as in the case of Porto Rico. It is therefore not unprecedented that Porto Rican imports into the United States are to be taxed for two years to come, but it is unprecedented that this tax has been reduced 85 per cent and also that the revenues received from this tariff goes to Porto Rico rather than into the Treasury of the United States as a part of the general fund of this government.

The effect of the new Porto Rican tariff act was plainly perceptible

in the commerce between the United States and that island during the month of May—the first month of the civil government. The Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance, just issued by the Treasury Bureau of Statistics, shows that exports to Porto Rico have more than doubled as compared with the preceding May, and imports from the island have nearly doubled. Exports to the island from the United States in May, 1899, were \$305,564 and in May, 1900, \$696,479. The imports into the United States from the island in May, 1899, were \$647,179 and in May, 1900, \$1,103,867. This increase is the more remarkable because it had been understood that the people of Porto Rico had little to sell and little with which to buy, since the hurricane of August, 1899, had gone far to impoverish the people of that island.

It is also interesting to observe that the May commerce with Porto Rico shows a much greater increase than is the case with any of the other islands. With Cuba the commerce of May differed little from that of May, 1899, and this was also the case with the Hawaiian Islands; while in the Philippine Islands the imports show no increase, though the exports show a remarkable gain.

The following tables show our exports to and imports from each of the islands in May, 1900, compared with May, 1899:

Exports:	May, 1899.	May, 1900.
Cuba	\$2,124,679	\$2,155,882
Porto Rico	305,564	696,479
Hawaii	1,236,700	1,429,140
Philippines	63,905	258,214
Samoa, Tonga, etc....	2,159	26,108
Imports:	May, 1899.	May, 1900.
Cuba	\$4,762,970	\$4,791,787
Porto Rico	647,179	1,103,867
Hawaii	2,384,738	2,315,728
Philippines	622,101	695,243
Samoa, etc	100	4,485

Governor Allen, who has been in Porto Rico as the Executive of the island since May 1, declares that the tariff law has been a great success, and that the people of Porto Rico are satisfied. Since the first week of civil rule there has been a surplus. The receipts from customs at San Juan the first week were only \$1,500. The second week they were \$8,000, and the first week in July they were over \$32,000. The average receipts of the island will, on this basis, be over \$100,000 a month, and the total

for the year may amount to \$1,500,000 instead of \$750,000 as estimated by the committee which framed the law. Governor Allen says that the most intelligent Porto Ricans are looking forward with apprehension to the time when the island shall be given free trade with the United States and compelled to establish a system of internal taxation as in the Territories of this country. They prefer the present arrangement.

The courts have not yet passed upon the constitutionality of this act creating a civil government for Porto Rico. The United States Circuit Court for the Southern Circuit of New York has decided that the treaty is valid and that so far as the tariff law is concerned Porto Rico is a foreign country and not under the Constitution of the United States. A firm of tobacco importers in New York protested against the assessment of tariff duties on Porto Rican tobacco on the ground that Porto Rico is not a foreign country and that "therefore the imposition of duties on goods brought from a place within the territory of the United States into a port of the United States is not lawful and valid under the Constitution." This case was appealed from the General Board of Appraisers to the Circuit Court of the United States, and Judge Townsend decided against the importers.

In his decision, Judge Townsend reviewed the history of the acquisition of territory by treaty, and then said:

"Before cession under conquest Porto Rico was a part of the United States as to foreign nations; the *de facto* title to the soil was in the United States, but its inhabitants were foreigners to the Constitution, and the provision for uniformity of duties had no application there. (*Fleming vs. Page supra.*) By cession the title becomes *de jure*, but in the status of the islanders as foreigners and so in the status of Porto Rico as a foreign country no change was to be made until Congress should determine its character.

"The treaty vests the sovereignty over the island in the United States, but postpones changes in the relations of its people, and in its relations to the body politic, until Congress shall determine what relations shall be best suited to the conditions of its inhabitants and to the welfare of the United States. Since Congress, at the time of this importation, had not performed this condition of incorporation, the status of Porto Rico, except as to other nations, remains unchanged."

* * *

"The only remaining ground upon which it can be urged that Porto

Rico status has been changed is that the treaty is unconstitutional. Thus far in the history of our country no treaty has ever been adjudged invalid on this ground. A treaty is not only the law of our land, but also a contract of the United States with another nation. A court would not be justified in overruling the act of the treaty making power unless its reasons for so doing were strong and imperative.

"The sole constitutional question is this: May our Government by treaty accept the title of and sovereignty over territory and at the same time preserve its status as foreign country so far as internal relations to us are concerned? Can we, in other words, hold sovereignty over territory without incorporating it into the United States?"

CHAPTER XII.

THE NEW CUBA

The war with Spain had its origin in the declaration of Congress that the people of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent. For two years there has been much suspicion aroused by Democratic accusation that this declaration was made in a Pickwickian sense and that the United States plucked "the pearl of the Antilles" from the Spanish crown to adorn that of the American Republic, but in two years the wise and tactful administration of Cuban affairs under military authority has brought order out of chaos and the Cuban people are preparing for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention. The order for this election was issued by Secretary Root Tuesday, July 31, 1900. The convention to frame a new constitution for an independent Cuba will be in session at the time when the voters of this country are deciding the issue of this campaign and whether they will uphold or defeat the present administration. This is a complete answer to the charge that the McKinley administration did not intend to withdraw American troops from Cuba, but sought to annex the island as a territory of the United States. The order of Secretary Root is as follows:

Whereas, The Congress of the United States, by its joint resolution of April 20, 1898, declared "that the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent; that the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people"; and

Whereas, the people of Cuba have established municipal governments, deriving their authority from the suffrages of the people given under just and equal laws, and are now ready, in like manner, to proceed to the establishment of a general government, which shall assume and exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction and control over the island;

Therefore it is ordered that a general election be held in the Island of Cuba on the third Saturday of September, in the year 1900, to elect delegates to a convention to meet in the city of Havana at twelve o'clock noon on the first Monday of November, in the year 1900, to frame and adopt a constitution for the people of Cuba, and, as a part thereof, to provide for and agree with the government of the United States upon

the relations to exist between that government and the government of Cuba, and to provide for the election by the people of officers under such constitution and the transfer of government to the officers so elected.

The election will be held in the several voting precincts of the island under and pursuant to the provisions of the electoral law of April 18, 1900, and the amendments thereof.

The order also apportions delegates among the provinces. The province of Pinar del Rio will elect three delegates, Havana eight, Matanzas four, Santa Clara seven, Puerto Principe two and Santiago seven.

Two years ago there were few people in this country who believed that a stable government could be organized in Cuba within the next ten years, while the outside world would not be convinced that the United States even desired to give Cuba an independent government. Egypt was offered as a visible proof that the temporary occupation meant permanent occupation. Europe could not understand the American policy and love of freedom and believed that a war for humanity was only a war for aggression. No island ever offered worse conditions for redemption from disorder. A seventh of the population had in three years perished of hunger. A tattered army that had fought for independence, sullenly demanded immediate control of the island after the United States had driven out Spain. The revolutionary warfare against Spain had destroyed property on sugar plantations estimated at \$868,000,000, a yield of 100,000,000 tons of sugar had dropped to 250,000, the loss in live stock had been as heavy as other losses and the island was denuded of cattle and other domestic animals. Poverty and starvation were not the only difficulties which Cuba faced. It had its double race question. In a population of only 1,500,000 there were nearly 130,000 Spanish immigrants, nearly 80,000 other immigrants and half a million of negro or mixed negro ancestors. In other words, one-half the population was negro and foreign. Of the whole population over ten years of age one-half were illiterate. The church question touched every relation of life. Sepulture was in the exclusive control of the priest, and high fees for marriage had bred a wholesale concubinage embracing a fifth of the population of marriageable age. Sanitary improvements were unknown and Havana was a breeding ground for yellow fever. The cynical corruption for centuries had left its impress on the whole people and honesty was regarded as an unknown quantity in official life.

This was the problem which confronted the United States when the

Spanish army was withdrawn and this government became responsible for the conduct of Cuban affairs and also for the stability of government which should be organized by the people of the island. Yet in two years from the date of conquest and eighteen months after formal occupation the call is issued for a constitutional convention. The Cuban army has been peacefully dissolved and its strongest division has become an efficient police for Havana. Order and security exist throughout the island. Freedom for marriage and lay sepulture have come. The revenues have been freed from a debt charged of \$12,600,000 and military charges of \$5,900,000. The Spanish army was supported by Cuba. The United States army in Cuba pays its own bills. Where nothing had been spent for sanitation under Spanish rule, in 1899 more than \$3,000,000 was devoted to this reform and Havana has become one of the healthiest of tropical cities. Last year in August the deaths from yellow fever in Havana were 10, where, in the last year of peace, 1896, there had been 296 deaths in the same month. In Santiago the water supply was doubled, the death rate halved, the birth rate increased, sewerage introduced and yellow fever suppressed. Out of 300,000 children of school age less than 50,000 had ever been in a school house. Today Cuba has a school system covering the island with 2,500 teachers, who are now enjoying the hospitality and sharing the instruction of the oldest and most conspicuous university in America. Courts have been purified and bribery in them has been exposed and punished. Fraud and corruption have been as unsparingly attacked in American as in Cuban appointees. Not one charge made in regard to the administration of Cuban affairs under American control but has been sifted and guilt has been punished. Last spring municipal elections were held, which demonstrated the possibilities of self-government for the Cubans. Municipal self-government already exists. Monopolies have been abolished and odious taxes on occupations repealed. No concessions have been made; no charters have been issued; no Cuba bonds have been sold. All these things were predicted as the result of American control. None of them have been realized. In September the voters of Cuba will select delegates to their constitutional convention. That convention will meet in November and proceed to the adoption of a constitution for Cuba.

The American occupation of Cuba has bridged over the chaos which would have resulted from the revolution and the withdrawal of Spain. The first duty, that of pacifying the island and maintaining public order,

could have been fulfilled by no other agency so effectively. The foundations of political and industrial reconstruction could have been laid by no other means. The American military officials have set a good example for the Cubans who will follow them. The American standard of integrity has been an important object lesson throughout the island.

What the constitution for Cuba shall be is left largely to the Cuban people. The constitutional convention will be a test of the ability of Cuban leaders to formulate a constitution which will give to the people a government suited to their needs and realizing their aspirations. It will, however, have to submit that constitution to this government for approval, because, in the treaty of peace with Spain, this government assumed responsibility and pledged itself not to permit internal misgovernment in the future. The United States is a continuous protecting power over Cuba.

In his last message President McKinley discussed this question as follows:

"This nation has assumed before the world a grave responsibility for the future good government of Cuba. We have accepted a trust the fulfillment of which calls for the sternest integrity of purpose and the exercise of the highest wisdom. The new Cuba yet to arise from the ashes of the past must needs be bound to us by ties of singular intimacy and strength if its enduring welfare is to be assured. Whether those ties shall be organic or conventional, the destinies of Cuba are in some rightful form and manner irrevocably linked with our own, but how and how far is for the future to determine in the ripeness of events. Whatever be the outcome, we must see to it that free Cuba be a reality, not a name; a perfect entity, not a hasty experiment bearing within itself the elements of failure. Our mission, to accomplish which we took up the wager of battle, is not to be fulfilled by turning adrift any loosely framed commonwealth to face the vicissitudes which too often attend weaker states whose natural wealth and abundant resources are offset by the incongruities of their political organization and the recurring occasions for internal rivalries to sap their strength and dissipate their energies. The greatest blessing which can come to Cuba is the restoration of her agricultural and industrial prosperity, which will give employment to idle men and re-establish the pursuits of peace. This is her chief and immediate need."

CHAPTER XIII.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY—THE OPEN DOOR IN CHINA

In its foreign policy the McKinley administration has had one aim—to keep the United States out of all entangling alliances so that the Government can always be free to act independently and to maintain a distinctly American position. The Monroe Doctrine stands higher to-day as an accepted tenet of American politics recognized and respected by all the world than it ever stood before. This is due not to chance, nor to hazard but to the successful development of a deliberate program pursued intelligently by President McKinley and his successive Secretaries of State. This, in itself, is a triumph for the administration sufficient to signalize it if there had been no other achievement.

In the Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899 the American representatives without pledging the United States to any course which might lead to international entanglements secured in the treaty a specific declaration in which for the first time the Monroe Doctrine receives formal recognition by representatives of European powers. The delegates of the United States at The Hague conference joined with the representatives of other powers in earnestly advocating the establishment of a permanent international tribunal for the peaceful settlement of international quarrels, but in signing the convention framed by the conference they were not unmindful of the inconveniences which might arise from an obtrusive exercise of mediation, and so carefully guarded the historic position of the United States by the following declaration:

“Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.”

Thus for the first time in a formal document duly signed by repre-

sentatives of all the great powers there appears an unmistakable declaration that the traditional attitude of the United States towards purely American questions is to be respected. That traditional attitude, it is needless to say, finds its expression in the Monroe Doctrine—that European nations are to keep hands off in the adjustment of American affairs.

A second instance where the administration took a long step forward in establishing the permanency of the Monroe Doctrine was in the negotiation of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, by which Great Britain abandoned her right to partnership in the construction and control of the Nicaraguan Canal, while still respecting that clause of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in which Great Britain was pledged to the observance of the Monroe Doctrine in Central America. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty was made at our solicitation in pursuance of our long established and often proclaimed policy. In it we provided for the free use of the Nicaraguan Canal by all nations and also for the extension to Central America of our own historical policy, the Monroe Doctrine. The first article of the treaty contains this solemn pledge:

“The United States and Great Britain hereby declare that neither one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship canal; agreeing that neither will ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same or in the vicinity thereof or occupy or fortify or colonize or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America.”

Here were two distinct provisions. At the time the treaty was negotiated it was believed that both provisions were to the advantage of the United States. One provided for joint control of the canal, the other pledged Great Britain to the observance of the Monroe Doctrine in Central America—the first recognition in a treaty by any nation of the doctrine we had so long proclaimed and pressed. As time went on it appeared that the first of these provisions might hamper the United States in the construction of the canal; but the second provision it is still to the interest of the United States to preserve. In the Hay-Pauncefote treaty the McKinley administration has succeeded in inducing Great Britain to withdraw her claims to joint control of the canal, while making no change which would effect that provision of the Clayton-

Bulwer treaty containing an explicit recognition of the Monroe Doctrine, assuming the Clayton-Bulwer treaty still to be in force.

A striking example of the success of the McKinley administration in steering clear of entangling alliances and embarrassing complications with other nations while at the same time preserving American interests and advancing them is given in the solution of the difficult problem presented by the tripartite agreement in Samoa. For many years the Samoan question had been a source of annoyance and of serious trouble for successive administrations. In 1878 a treaty was concluded between the United States and the government of the Samoan islands, the principal article of which provided for the establishment of a naval station in Pango-pango Harbor in the island of Tuila. American naval and commercial interests demanded that the United States should watch closely the development of affairs in the archipelago where rival commercial interests of Great Britain and Germany were constantly seeking to take advantage of the disturbed conditions in the island. After years of diplomatic correspondence accompanied by serious outbreaks in the islands a conference was held in Berlin attended by representatives of Germany, Great Britain and the United States. The result of this conference was a tripartite agreement signed June 14, 1889, the purpose of which was to preserve the neutrality and autonomous government of the islands and provide for equal rights the reign of the three signatory powers, their citizens and subjects.

Under the tripartite agreement complications were constantly arising. It was found to be impossible to preserve without friction the interests of all concerned, and difficulties developed which at times threatened to precipitate hostilities. The problem proved too serious a one for the Cleveland administration to solve. President Cleveland and his Secretaries of State harrassed and worried by the continual insurrections and by the diplomatic questions arising from them could think of no way out of their embarrassment except by resorting to the "scuttle" policy which was such a favorite with the last Democratic administration. After referring the matter to Congress in successive messages President Cleveland at last in his annual message of December 3d, 1894, actually recommended that the United States should withdraw from its engagements with the other powers. The proposition struck Congress as unpleasantly as the prior proposition of the Cleveland administration to withdraw from our engagements in Hawaii

and restore Liliuokalani to the throne from which she had been deposed by an outraged people.

When the McKinley administration came into power it found matters in this shape. It took up the question with the same breadth of view and with the same regard for American interests that has characterized its treatment of all diplomatic problems. The business came to a head in the summer of 1899. The election according to the law and customs of Samoa of a successor to the late king Malatoa Laupepa developed a contest as to the validity of the result. By the terms of the Berlin agreement the question was to be decided by the Chief Justice. Upon his rendering a judgment in favor of one of the candidates Malatoa Tanu, the rival chief Mataafa took up arms. The active intervention of American and British warships became imperative to restore order and sanguinary encounters resulted. In this emergency a joint commission of representatives of the United States, Germany and Great Britain was sent to Samoa to investigate and provide a temporary remedy. Through these efforts a peaceful solution was reached for the time, the kingship being abolished and a provisional government established. Recommendations unanimously made by the commission for a permanent adjustment of the Samoan question were taken under consideration by the three powers. But the more they were examined the more evident it became that a radical change was necessary in the relations of the powers to Samoa. The inconveniences and possible perils of the Tripartite scheme of supervision and control, by powers having little interest in common in the islands beyond commercial rivalry had been strongly emphasized by events, the representatives of the other powers having failed to sustain the decision of the American Chief Justice which they professed to regard as prejudicial to their interests. The Joint Commission suggested a remedy amounting to what has been styled a Tri-dominium—the exercise of the functions of sovereignty by an unanimous agreement of free powers. The situation had become far more intricate and embarrassing from every point of view than it was in 1894 when President Cleveland recommended the withdrawal of the United States. The McKinley administration took hold of it with a purpose to simplify complications, remove sources of possible embarrassment and retain unimpaired advantages already gained by the United States in the way of commerce and in the possession of Pago Pago Harbor, the finest body of enclosed water in the Pacific Ocean.

The result is known. It was described as follows by President McKinley in his annual message of December 31, 1899:

"The arrangement under which Samoa was administered had proved impracticable and unacceptable to all the powers concerned. To withdraw from the agreement and abandon the islands to Germany and Great Britain would not be compatible with our interests in the archipelago. To relinquish our rights in the harbor of Pago Pago, the best anchorage in the Pacific, the occupancy of which had been leased to the United States in 1878 by the first foreign treaty ever concluded by Samoa, was not to be thought of either as regards the needs of our navy or the interests of our growing commerce with the East. We could not have considered any proposition for the abrogation of the Tripartite control which did not confirm us in all our rights and safeguard all our national interests in the islands.

"Our views commended themselves to other powers. A satisfactory arrangement was concluded between the governments of Germany and of England by virtue of which England retired from Samoa in view of compensations in other directions and both powers renounced in favor of the United States all their rights and claims over and in respect to that portion of the group lying to the east of the 171st degree of West Longitude, embracing the islands of Tutuila, Ofoo, Olo-senga and Manua."

The United States thus secured by convention the island of Tutuila containing the magnificent harbor of Pago Pago, leaving to Germany the island of Upolu with the town and harbor of Apia. The convention guarantees to us the same privileges and conditions in respect to commerce and commercial vessels in all of the islands of Samoa as those possessed by Germany. We now control that island and with the consent of the governed.

Here again was a diplomatic achievement which would have been sufficient in itself to signalize any ordinary administration. With the McKinley administration it is only one among many.

Overshadowing all other diplomatic questions with which the administration has had to deal are those growing out of the development of American commerce and interests in the far East. With all the great European powers looking with jealous eyes towards the limitless markets of China, with some of them reaching out to secure concessions of territory, with at least one of them striving to extend its boundaries

across the Chinese frontier to the sea, the United States at the beginning of the McKinley administration found itself compelled to exercise the highest diplomatic skill in order to retain its own commercial advantages as acquired by treaty and as developed by American enterprise.

The acquisition of the Philippines had given the United States a naval and commercial base at the gateway of the Orient and had brought with it a high responsibility as well as a right to demand consideration in whatever plans the powers had in view for the future of China. President McKinley has not hesitated to accept the responsibility or to insist upon the right. His aim has been to keep for the United States all the treaty privileges secured by his predecessors and to guard them in such a way as to extend American commerce without entangling alliance with any of the other powers and without friction with any of them. It has been as difficult a task as any administration has ever had to undertake, and it has been performed with such skill that during the months of complication and peril the United States has taken the lead, blazing the diplomatic path and doing more than all other nations combined to establish the policy of the powers in the Orient. Under the skillful guidance of President McKinley and Secretary Hay, the United States has assumed a higher position among the nations of the world and is rapidly becoming—if, indeed, it has not already become—the arbiter of oriental destiny.

The key to the administration's oriental policy has been this: That the United States desires no accessions of territory in China; that it is interested first of all in preserving existing geographical and political relations, and that whatever changes may be made through the efforts of other powers there shall be no diminution of American rights or privileges. The first and most important step has been to secure an assurance of the maintenance of the open door policy in China.

Very early in the administration a new development in Chinese affairs began to show itself. The leading European powers, stimulated by commercial rivalry, undertook to secure from China the lease of certain provinces or strips of territory. In each territorial division thus leased the power leasing it was to have control of the industrial and commercial development to the exclusion of all others. It was to be regarded as a "sphere of influence," or "interest," and to all intents and purposes the arrangement was an annexation of territory. Presi-

dent McKinley and his advisors saw at once that if this practice became general it would seriously diminish American influence in the Orient and interfere with American trade, perhaps destroy it altogether, unless prompt and unmistakable action was taken to prevent it.

The important thing was to make sure that whatever change there might be in the control of Chinese territory (a change in which the United States had no desire to participate) there would still be an open market there for the United States just as has existed for years under treaty rights. Secretary Hay set out to secure from the various European powers assurances of this kind. He realized that concert of action would be necessary because the refusal of any one of the powers to enter into the agreement would probably cause all the others to withdraw from it whatever might be their natural inclination. He went about the business with a frankness and a boldness which must have caused some of the foreign chancellors to gasp with surprise and which was a good example of that very effective international correspondence which some European experts have been pleased to style "shirtsleeves diplomacy." He was aided undoubtedly by the new position which the United States had assumed in the Far East by reason of our possession of the Philippine archipelago and our control of a superb base of operations at Manila—an advantage in itself due to the successful war waged under the McKinley administration and to the statesmanship which characterized the work of the Peace Commissioners at Paris.

Notes were addressed by Secretary Hay to our ambassadors at London, Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Rome, and to our minister at Tokio asking each to request the government to which he was accredited to give—

"Formal assurances and lend its co-operation in securing like assurances from the other interested powers that each within its respective sphere of whatever influence—

"First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called 'sphere of interest' it (the United States Government) may have in China.

"Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise, landed or shipped to all such ports as are within such 'sphere of influence' (unless they be 'free ports,') no matter to what nationality it may belong and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

"Third. That it will levy no harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such 'sphere' than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its 'sphere' on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such 'sphere' than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances."

This action of Secretary Hay was bold and unprecedented. But it met with a success which was a striking tribute to the prestige of the McKinley administration and to the position of influence among the powers of the world which the United States has assumed. Without exception the governments which were approached gave their assent to the proposition of the United States with the understanding, of course, that all would join. Thus the first great point in the game of oriental diplomacy was won.

The soundness of the position of the administration was still further demonstrated in a most striking manner during the trying times which followed the outbreak of the anti-foreign agitation in China when the "yellow peril" seemed about to break upon the world. From beginning to end of this period the McKinley administration by following simply and consistently the course it had marked out for itself was enabled to escape every embarrassment, to protect all American interests, to save international entanglements and to take the lead in determining the policy to be pursued by the great powers. At a time when all others were hesitating, wavering between considerations of self interest and humanity, doubtful whether this course or that would be expedient or wise in view of possible international complications which might arise, the United States with its unselfish policy always in mind went confidently ahead in the path marked out by humane considerations and those of common sense. The other powers with policies undefined fell into line, for the simple reason that they had no reasonable alternative to offer.

At a very early stage of the trouble, while apprehension was universal and while few dared to forecast the future, Secretary Hay addressed an identical note to the various representatives of the United States in European capitals and in Tokio. This note was intended to be a formal declaration of the position of this Government. It was intended to emphasize the independence of the United States of all in-

ternational entanglements while expressing the purpose of this Government to act conjointly with other powers in any proper endeavor to restore peace in China and to establish order. At a time when other powers were apparently ready to assume that the Chinese Government itself was responsible for the anti-foreign demonstration, thus affording an excuse for the most severe measures which could be contrived by way of retribution, the administration persisted in assuming what would have been regarded as a matter of course with any other nation that until the contrary was proved the anti-foreign movement was in the nature of an insurrection and that the Chinese Government itself was as much interested in its suppression as any of the European powers. It was one of those fine unmistakable distinctions which more than once have played a great part in determining international events.

The circular telegram sent by Secretary Hay to American diplomatic representatives in Europe and Japan is already an historic document. It reads as follows:

"In this critical posture of affairs in China it is deemed appropriate to define the attitude of the United States as far as present circumstances permit this to be done. We adhere to the policy initiated by us in 1857 of peace with the Chinese nation, of furtherance of lawful commerce and of protection of lives and property of our citizens by all means guaranteed under extra-territorial treaty rights and by the law of nations. If wrong be done to our citizens, we propose to hold the responsible authorities to the uttermost accountability.

"We regard the condition at Peking as one of virtual anarchy, whereby power and responsibility is practically devolved upon the local provincial authorities. So long as they are not in overt collusion with rebellion and use their power to protect foreign life and property, we regard them as representing the Chinese people with whom we seek to remain in peace and friendship.

"The purpose of the President is, as it has been heretofore, to act concurrently with the other Powers, first, in opening up communication with Peking and rescuing the American officials, missionaries and other Americans who are in danger; secondly, in affording all possible protection everywhere in China to American life and property; thirdly, in guarding and protecting all legitimate American interests; and

fourthly, in aiding to prevent a spread of the disorders to the other provinces of the Empire and a recurrence of such disasters.

"It is, of course, too early to forecast the means of attaining this last result, but the policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace in China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly Powers by treaty and in law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.

"You will communicate the purport of this instruction to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.
HAY."

The course thus marked out by the administration was one which demanded diplomatic skill of a high order if it was to be consistently followed. Secretary Hay's note was a warning as well as a definition of policy. It served noticed upon England, Germany, Russia and Japan that they must go no further in sending troops into China than was justified in the protection of their rights and interests as foreign powers and the preservation of their national dignity. It alligned the United States clearly for the territorial and administrative integrity of China. It was the bold declaration of a world policy which embraced the future political control of the Far East. The word was spoken at the right moment. The propositions laid down could not be disputed by any other power without revealing motives that would have aroused the suspicions of all the rest. There was nothing to do but to accept the American lead.

The United States again led the way when the Chinese Emperor, hard pressed, undertook to secure a promise from the President to use his good offices to bring about a concert of the powers to restore order and peace. This was in effect an appeal to the United States to stand between the Imperial Government and retribution for wrongs which might have been done. The reply of the President could not have been excelled in frankness combined with caution. It promised the good offices of this government, provided certain necessary and palpable conditions were first complied with. A compliance with those conditions could be the only guarantee that the confidence in the good faith of the Imperial Government was not misplaced. In order fully to appreciate the significance of this reply it must be read in full with the

original appeal that called it forth. The Emperor's appeal was dated July 19, 1900. It follows:

"The Emperor of China to His Excellency the President of the United States. Greeting:

"China has long maintained friendly relations with the United States, and is deeply conscious that the object of the United States is international commerce. Neither country entertains the least suspicion or distrust toward the other. Recent outbreaks of mutual antipathy between the people and Christian missions caused the foreign powers to view with suspicion the position of the Imperial Government as favorable to the people and prejudicial to the missions, with the result that the Taku forts were attacked and captured. Consequently there has been clashing of the forces, with calamitous consequences. The situation has become more and more serious and critical.

"We have just received a telegraphic memorial from our envoy, Wu Ting Fang, and it is highly gratifying to us to learn that the United States Government, having in view the friendly relations between the two countries, has taken a deep interest in the present situation. Now, China, driven by the irresistible course of events, has unfortunately incurred well-nigh universal indignation. For settling the present difficulty China places special reliance in the United States. We address this message to your excellency in all sincerity and candor, with the hope that your excellency will devise measures and take the initiative in bringing about a concert of the powers for the restoration of order and peace. The favor of a kind reply is earnestly requested and awaited with the greatest anxiety."

And this is the President's response:

"The President of the United States to the Emperor of China. Greeting:

"I have received your majesty's message of July 19, and am glad to know that your majesty recognizes the fact that the government and people of the United States desire of China nothing but what is just and equitable. The purpose for which we landed troops in China was the rescue of our legation from grave danger and the protection of lives and property of Americans, who were sojourning in China in the en-

joyment of rights guaranteed them by treaty and by international law. The same purposes are publicly declared by all the powers which have landed military forces in your majesty's empire.

"I am to infer from your majesty's letter that the malefactors who have disturbed the peace of China, who have murdered the Minister of Germany and a member of the Japanese legation, and who now hold besieged in Pekin the foreign diplomatists, who still survive, have not only not received any favor or encouragement from your majesty, but are actually in rebellion against the Imperial authority. If this be the case, I most solemnly urge your majesty's government to give public assurance whether the foreign Ministers are alive, and, if so, in what condition.

"2. To put the diplomatic representatives of the powers in immediate and free communication with their respective governments and to remove all danger to their lives and liberty.

"3. To place the Imperial authorities of China in communication with the relief expedition, so that coöperation may be secured between them for the liberation of the legations, the protection of foreigners and the restoration of order.

"If those objects are accomplished, it is the belief of this government that no obstacles will be found to exist on the part of the powers to an amicable settlement of all the questions arising out of the recent troubles, and the friendly good offices of this government will, with the assent of the other powers, be cheerfully placed at your majesty's disposition for that purpose.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

"July 23, 1900

"By the President:

"JOHN HAY, Secretary of State."

Finally came the time when, assurance of the survival of the Ministers having been received, it was proposed to move on Pekin with an international column composed of troops of all the powers in order to afford adequate protection to the legations and establish order. This above all things was what China wished to avoid, and approaches were made to the United States through the venerable Li Hung Chang, to see whether it could be prevented by the delivery at Tien Tsin under safe escort of the imprisoned Ministers. To this the reply of the Secretary of State was so clear cut and emphatic that it might be regarded

as an ultimatum. The history of this last note is told in the following telegraphic instruction sent by Secretary Hay on August 1, 1900, to the United States embassies in Berlin, London, Paris, Rome and St. Petersburg and to the United States Minister at Tokio:

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

“Washington, August 1, 1900.

“In reply to a suggestion of Li Hung Chang that the Ministers might be sent under safe escort to Tien Tsin, provided the powers would engage not to march on Peking, the Secretary of State replied on the 30th of July:

“‘This Government will not enter into any arrangement regarding disposition or treatment of legations without first having free communication with Minister Conger. Responsibility for their protection rests upon the Chinese government. Power to deliver at Tien Tsin presupposes power to protect and to open communications. This is insisted on.’

“This message was delivered by Mr. Goodnow on the 31st to Viceroy Li, who then inquired whether, ‘if free communication were established between Ministers and their governments, it could be arranged that the powers should not advance on Peking, pending negotiations.’

“To this inquiry the following reply was sent on the 1st of August: “‘Goodnow, Consul General, Shanghai:

“‘I do not think it expedient to submit the proposition of Earl Li to the other powers. Free communication with our representatives in Peking is demanded as a matter of absolute right, and not as a favor. Since the Chinese government admits that it possesses the power to give communication, it puts itself in an unfriendly attitude by denying it. No negotiations seem advisable until the Chinese government shall have put the diplomatic representatives of the powers in full and free communication with their respective governments and removed all danger to their lives and liberty. We would urge Earl Li earnestly to advise the Imperial authorities of China to place themselves in friendly communication and coöperation with the relief expedition. They are assuming a heavy responsibility in acting otherwise.

“(Signed)

HAY.’

"You will communicate this information to the Minister of Foreign Affairs."

The language of this communication was so direct and forceful as to be almost undiplomatic. It placed upon China the responsibility which belonged to that government, and in such a way that the meaning could not be misunderstood even by the Oriental mind. It recognized the fact that in the official person of Minister Conger was embodied all the national honor and dignity of the United States and that China in endeavoring to dawdle, procrastinate and make terms was doing an indignity not to Minister Conger alone but to the entire American people. It completed a cycle of diplomatic papers which will hold a high place in American history.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE OUTLOOK

"You do not have to guess what the Republican party will do. The whole world knows its purposes. It has embodied them in law and executed them in administration."—William McKinley.

This quotation from a speech made by President McKinley six years ago is a good text for a short chapter on the outlook. It suggests the scope of the outlook which should be for country rather than party. Four years ago, at the close of a Democratic administration, the outlook was as dark as any that had confronted the country for a quarter of a century. When the Democratic party went out of power in 1861 it left the country on the brink of civil war, which broke out within a month after the inauguration of President Lincoln and became the greatest war of history. When the Democratic party went out of power in 1897 it left the country on the brink of national and individual and general bankruptcy. The Republican party took firm hold of both these desperate situations. Through its patriotic administration of the government it saved the Union in the sixties, and it saved the business of the country in the nineties. McKinley said: "The Republican party never lowered the flag or the credit of the government, but has exalted both." In the last four years his administration has given new demonstration of the truth he uttered. The outlook for the whole country, North and South, East and West, was never brighter than now. The mills are all running, the farms are producing wealth, labor is employed, and the American market is expanding in every direction, to every country on the face of the globe. It is an outlook for even greater prosperity than we have, and that has never been surpassed. The outlook of the business man, the wage earner and the farmer includes the Orient and the Southern hemisphere. Its promise is brighter than at any other time in American history. It is the promise of new markets for the manufacturer and the farmer, steady work and increased wages for the wage earner, protection for American industries, increased credit for business enterprise, cheaper money for the borrower, better security for the lender, greater opportunity for every one, and a higher standing of

the nation among the great powers of the world. The United States has ceased to be a debtor nation and has become a creditor with England, Germany and Russia seeking American gold. If there was any truth in the accusations made in 1896 as to the existence of money sharks or money powers, these can no longer apply to any of the financiers of European capitals, since, if there be any beseeching for favors, the United States is now the besought, instead of the beseecher; if anybody is clutching it is the United States, and not the foreign money grabber; if any nation is at the mercy of any financial nation, it is some one or more of the nations of Europe, which is to some extent at our mercy, instead of the United States any longer being within the financial clutch and power of those who were, in 1896, denounced as the vultures who were preying upon this country.

It is not alone the financial resources of the United States which are commanding the attention both of the statesmen and the financiers of Europe, but the colossal power of which our trade resources, our industrial and commercial advantages are now giving us. This is made evident in an address recently delivered to one of the most important of the trade associations of Great Britain by an expert authority in iron and steel productions, Mr. H. J. Skelton.

Mr. Skelton says that manufacturers of Great Britain ought no longer to be in the dark about the peculiar advantages which the United States possess with respect to the iron and steel world's trade—as, for instance, iron can be produced in several districts of the United States, even at the higher rate of wages that prevail here, at considerably less than the average cost for production in Great Britain, and the only thing Mr. Skelton can offer to offset this advantage is what he asserts to be the greater facilities for shipment which Great Britain enjoys.

All men have not acknowledged that this outlook for the nation has been made possible by the Republican party and the Republican administration. Some men will not acknowledge that there is prosperity all over this land. But, as has been pointed out in preceding chapters, the Democratic party ignored the old issue of protection to American industry in the platform made at Kansas City. It presented as its paramount issue the boggy of imperialism. It has failed to point out wherein there has been given room for imperialism. It has not taken issue with the Republican party on this question for the simple reason that the

Republican party has shown no tendency toward imperialism nor made any defense of imperialism. "No blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity, and none will be," said President McKinley, in his speech to the committee that notified him of his renomination. In this pithy sentence he gave the record of the war in which the nation has been engaged and the best promise for the future. No Democrat of responsibility has said or can say that, should Mr. Bryan be elected President, he could or would change the policy of this government in the Philippines, because these islands now belong to the United States, and the political status of the inhabitants must be determined by Congress. Mr. Bryan as President would be compelled by his oath and in obedience to the Constitution, to hold and govern the islands, following in the footsteps of the present administration without evasion or change. To do otherwise would subject him to impeachment.

Mr. Bryan and his party have raised one issue and one alone which directly antagonizes the Republican party. That is the old issue of 1896—the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. In that issue the Republican party is unalterably opposed to the Democratic party because it threatens the glorious outlook now presented to the American people. This issue is another attack upon the credit and the stability of the nation's money. The sentiment of the country has not changed in the last four years. Mr. Bryan found it as difficult to commit his party to this issue at Kansas City as he did at Chicago in 1896. The East does not want free silver, nor does the West nor the South. Mr. Bryan compelled his party to make free silver the issue again by the threat that he, their only candidate for President, would not stand on a platform in which it was not the central and vitalizing plank.

The election of 1896 was most stubbornly contested and brought out the largest popular vote ever recorded. McKinley carried 23 States and received 7,104,779 votes. Bryan carried 22 States and received 6,502,925 votes. The plurality of McKinley over Bryan was 631,854 and McKinley's majority over all was 498,430. The Gold Democrat vote was against Bryan and in sympathy with the Republicans. Added to McKinley's vote it made the protest against free silver 765,278 greater than its support. There has not since the days of the Civil war been such an emphatic protest against any party issue as was that of 1896. The Republicans in that contest lost two States that had been strong supporters of the party—Kansas and Nebraska. They also lost Colorado, Idaho,

Montana, Nevada, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. These States have 45 electoral votes, which could be claimed as lost to the Republicans by reason of the silver issue. But the party regained New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, California and Wisconsin, which gave their electoral votes to Cleveland in 1892, thereby recovering 111 electoral votes, and also gained from the Democrats Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland and West Virginia, adding 29 electoral votes, which had always been Democratic. While the Democrats gained 45 electoral votes in 1896 the Republicans gained 140. This was on the money question. The same question is to be voted on this year, because that is one issue on which the parties each have positive and explicit declarations as to a policy to be carried out in legislative and administrative action. Political prophecy is uncertain and not profitable. But, conceding the intelligence of the voters of this country and their stability in support of political issues until they are settled and fixed in government policy, it is difficult to see how the Democrats can hope to elect Mr. Bryan and persuade the American people to reverse the action of four years ago.

Will New York change its nearly 300,000 majority against free silver this year because Mr. Croker is supporting Mr. Bryan? Will Illinois change its majority of 150,000 against silver, or New Jersey its majority of 88,000, or Indiana its 20,000 majority? This must be done to elect Bryan over McKinley. The prophet who predicts such a change places a low estimate on the stability of the American voter. The Democrats hope to win back West Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky. To do this they must overcome a Republican majority of 32,000 in Maryland, 12,000 in West Virginia, 3,400 in Delaware and a majority of 5,500 against Bryan, as measured by the Republican and Gold Democrat vote, in Kentucky. Should they regain these four States, they would recover 29 electoral votes. But in Kentucky they are committed to Goebelism, which represents the worst danger in American politics. Maryland and West Virginia are still opposed to free silver.

The Republicans have a better prospect for regaining Kansas and Nebraska, Washington and Wyoming and South Dakota with their 27 electoral votes, than have the Democrats for carrying West Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware with their 29 electoral votes. The battle ground will be in the West, for Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan on the one side, and Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas and Ken-

tucky on the other. The Democrats will try to change the majorities of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin by denouncing imperialism, which is a myth. The Republicans will attempt to regain Kansas and Nebraska and the Dakotas by appealing to the cause of National and State prosperity as represented by changed conditions since the McKinley administration began, and farm mortgages began to decrease.

The only danger of defeat for the Republicans is indifference and failure to assume their responsibility as voters who decide issues and control the government. The Republican who is satisfied with the prosperous condition of the country and indifferent to its continuance is the man who can decide the coming election adversely to his party. If he is multiplied by a million he can elect Mr. Bryan. It is not conceivable that there are 1,000,000 voters who supported McKinley in 1896 so indifferent to the cause of honest money, protection to American industry and general prosperity, as to take no part in the contest this year.

The first gun of the campaign was fired in Oregon in June. The State election there indicated that sound money is stronger with the people of the Far West than ever before, and in one of the States that came to us by expansion there is no fear of what is called imperialism. The Republicans had a majority of 2,000 in 1896 and a majority of 10,000 in June, 1900. This was in the face of the most abusive campaign against the present administration, when Democrats were denouncing imperialism in Porto Rico and the Philippines and finding fault with every administration policy. But the voters of Oregon had their eyes turned to the West, to the Philippines and China as their future markets, and they saw only the American flag in the one representing what it has represented to every foot of territory over which it ever floated, and the "open door" for American commerce and American enterprise in the other, to show that this administration is dedicated to the American people and that "the Republican party is neither an apology nor a reminiscence," but an active, practical organization which accomplishes what it preaches and enforces what it teaches. Oregon more than quadrupled its Republican majority. Without indulging in rainbow dreams, the example of Oregon suggests a hopeful outlook for the Republican party in this campaign, and for the country in the continuance of the McKinley administration, the prosperity it has brought and the patriotic and progressive policy which it represents.

CHAPTER XIV.

REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1900

The twelfth National Republican convention met in Philadelphia June 19, 1900, and nominated McKinley and Roosevelt on June 21. No national convention representing any political party ever met under more auspicious circumstances. For the first time in the history of the Republican party there was not a shadow of factional opposition to the renomination of a President. Members of his cabinet conspired to take the nomination from Lincoln in 1864 but failed before the convention met, and when Grant was renominated by acclamation in 1872 there was a bolt from the party which resulted in the nomination of Horace Greeley, the great Republican editor of New York, as an opposing candidate. The convention of this year was preceded by nothing to indicate any factional difference in the party or any dissatisfaction with the administration of President McKinley. It was a foregone conclusion that President McKinley would be renominated at Philadelphia, and that the national convention would resolve itself into a ratification meeting to endorse all that the President had done since he took charge of the Executive office of the United States. It was significant of the patriotic purposes of the Republican party, that the convention was held in the same city where was written the Declaration of Independence and where the Constitution was prepared; the city which has been known as the cradle of Liberty with hallowed memories of Washington and Jefferson, Hamilton and Hancock; and the city where the Republican party held its first national convention in 1856 and nominated John C. Fremont, its first candidate for President, and where President Grant was nominated in 1872. There were present at this convention a number of delegates who sat in the first convention of the party in 1856 and men who have been delegates in every convention of the party. But the convention which nominated President McKinley was marked by the absence of Federal office-holders and the fact that the great majority of the delegates were business men who had no other ambition in politics than to see a great administration which had brought to the country prosperity in peace and honor and glory in war, endorsed by the party

and continued by the people. No convention was ever less trammelled by the administration or more hearty in its endorsement of a President. While the convention met in the most conservative of Eastern cities, its inspirations came largely from Western men not only as to candidates but also as to management and control. The one contest, over Vice-President, was decided by Western delegates, and Governor Roosevelt of New York, who was reluctant to become a candidate, was demanded as a candidate by Western delegations because of his popularity throughout the West. It was on its face a gathering of thoughtful and careful American citizens—the best types of the people from Maine to Hawaii—intent upon serving loyally the best interests of country and party.

Intelligence and responsibility stamped every line of delegates the whole length and breadth of the great assemblage. Discrimination and foresight marked even the applause which was for measures rather than for men, for principles of statesmanship rather than for perorations or rounded sentences.

The National Republican convention was called to order by Senator Marcus A. Hanna of Ohio, chairman of the Republican National committee.

Senator Edward O. Wolcott of Colorado was selected as the temporary chairman of the convention, and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, the permanent chairman. Both delivered able speeches reviewing the work of the Republican party. These speeches are worthy of a place in the text book of every voter who wishes to be guided by intelligent discussion of public questions, and they are given in another part of this volume.

The crowning event of the convention was the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President. Both were nominated by the unanimous vote of the convention. There were no other candidates presented.

Senator Joseph Benson Foraker of Ohio, who placed William McKinley in nomination at St. Louis four years ago, again had the honor of naming the candidate for this convention. When the roll call was begun, Alabama, at the head of the list, yielded to Ohio, and Senator Foraker responded for Ohio. His speech was as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: Alabama yields to Ohio, and I thank Alabama for that accommodation. Alabama has

so yielded, however, by reason of a fact that would seem in an important sense to make the duty that has been assigned to me a superfluous duty, for Alabama has yielded because of the fact that our candidate for the Presidency has, in fact, been already nominated. (Applause.) He was nominated by the distinguished Senator from Colorado when he assumed the duties of temporary chairman. He was nominated again yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts when he took the office of permanent chairman; and he was nominated for a third time when the Senator from Indiana yesterday read us the platform. (Applause.) And not only has he been thus nominated by this convention, but he has also been nominated by the whole American people. (Applause.)

"From one end of the land to the other in every mind only one and the same man is thought of for the honor which we are now about to confer, and that man is the first choice of every other man who wishes Republican success next November. (Applause.)

"On this account it is that it is not necessary for me or any one else to speak for him here or elsewhere. He has already spoken for himself (applause), and to all the world. He has a record replete with brilliant achievements (applause), a record that speaks at once both his performances and his highest eulogy. It comprehends both peace and war, and constitutes the most striking illustration possible of triumphant and inspiring fidelity, and success in the discharge of public duty.

"Four years ago the American people confided to him their highest and most sacred trust. Behold, with what results. He found the industries of the country paralyzed and prostrated; he quickened them with a new life that has brought to the American people a prosperity unprecedented in all their history. He found the labor of this country everywhere idle; he has given it everywhere employment. He found it everywhere in despair; he has made it everywhere prosperous and buoyant with hope. He found the mills and shops and factories and mines everywhere closed; they are now everywhere open. (Applause.)

"And while we here deliberate, they are sending their surplus products in commercial conquest to the very ends of the earth. Under his wise guidance our financial standard has been firmly planted high above and beyond assault, and the wild cry of sixteen to one, so full of terror and long hair in 1896, has been put to everlasting sleep alongside of the lost cause, and other cherished Democratic heresies, in the catacombs of

American politics. (Applause.) With a diplomacy never excelled and rarely equaled, he has overcome what at times seemed to be insurmountable difficulties, and has not only opened to us the door of China, but he has advanced our interests in every land.

"Mr. Chairman, we are not surprised by this, for we anticipated it all. When we nominated him at St. Louis four years ago, we knew he was wise, we knew he was brave, we knew he was patient, we knew he would be faithful and devoted, and we knew that the greatest possible triumphs of peace would be his; but we then little knew that he would be called upon to encounter also the trials of war. That unusual emergency came. It came unexpectedly—as wars generally come. It came in spite of all he could honorably do to avert it. It came to find the country unprepared for it, but it found him equal to all its extraordinary requirements. (Applause.) And it is no exaggeration to say that in all American history there is no chapter more brilliant than that which chronicles with him as our commander-in-chief, our victory on land and sea. (Applause.)

"In one hundred days we drove Spain from the Western Hemisphere, girded the earth with our acquisition and filled the world with the splendor of our power. (Applause.)

"The American name has a new and greater significance now. Our flag has a new glory. It not only symbolizes human liberty and political equality at home, but it means freedom and independence for the long suffering patriots of Cuba, and complete protection, education, enlightenment, uplifting and ultimate local self-government and the enjoyment of all the blessings of liberty to the millions of Porto Rico and the Philippines. What we have so gloriously done for ourselves we propose most generously to do for them. (Applause.) We have so declared in the platform that we have adopted. A fitting place it is for this party to make such declaration. Here in this magnificent city of Philadelphia, where the evidences so abound of the rich blessings the Republican party has brought to the American people; here at the birthplace of the nation, where our own Declaration of Independence was adopted and our Constitution formed; where Washington and Jefferson and Hancock and John Adams and their illustrious associates wrote their immortal work; here where center so many historic memories that stir the blood and flush the cheek and excite the sentiments of human liberty and patriotism is indeed a most fitting place for the party of Lincoln and Grant and

Garfield and Blaine (applause); the party of Union and Liberty for all men to formally dedicate themselves to this great duty.

"We are now in the midst of its discharge. We could not turn back if we would, and would not if we could. (Applause.) We are on trial before the world, and must triumphantly meet our responsibilities, or ignominiously fail in the presence of mankind.

"These responsibilities speak to this convention here and now, and command us that we choose to be our candidate and the next President—which is one and the same thing—the best fitted man for the discharge of this great duty in all the republic. (Applause.)

"On that point there is no difference of opinion. No man in all the nation is so well qualified for this trust as the great leader under whom the work has been so far conducted. He has the head, he has the heart, he has the special knowledge and the special experience that qualify him beyond all others. And, Mr. Chairman, he has also the stainless reputation and character, and has led the blameless life that endear him to his countrymen and give to him the confidence of the respect, the admiration, the love and the affection of the whole American people. (Applause.)

"He is an ideal man, representing the highest type of American citizenship, an ideal candidate and an ideal President. With our banner in his hands it will be carried to triumphant victory in November next. (Applause.)

"In the name of all these considerations, not alone on behalf of his beloved State of Ohio, but on behalf of every other State and Territory here represented, and in the name of all Republicans everywhere throughout our jurisdiction, I nominate to be our next candidate for the Presidency, William McKinley."

Governor Theodore Roosevelt of New York seconded the nomination of President McKinley for the Empire State and said:

"Mr Chairman: I rise to second the nomination of William McKinley, the President who has had to meet and solve problems more numerous and more important than any other President since the days of mighty Abraham Lincoln; the President under whose administration this country has attained a higher pitch of prosperity at home and honor abroad than ever before in its history. Four years ago the Republican party nominated William McKinley as its standard bearer in a political conflict of graver moment to the nation than any that has taken place since

the close of the Civil War saw us once more a reunited country. The Republican party nominated him; but, before the campaign was many days old, he had become the candidate not only of all Republicans, but of all Americans who were both far-sighted enough to see where the true interests of the country lay, and clear-minded enough to be keenly sensitive to the taint of dishonor. President McKinley was triumphantly elected on certain distinct pledges, and those pledges have been made more than good.

"We were then in a condition of industrial paralysis. The capitalist was plunged in ruin and disaster; the wage-worker was on the edge of actual want; the success of our opponents would have meant not only immense aggravation of the actual physical distress, but also a stain on the nation's honor so deep that more than one generation would have to pass before it would be effectually wiped out.

"We promised that if President McKinley were elected not only should the national honor be kept unstained at home and abroad, but that the mill and the workshop should open, the farmer have a market for his goods, the merchant for his wares, and that the wage worker should prosper as never before. We did not promise the impossible; we did not say that, by good legislation and good administration, there would come prosperity to all men; but we did say that each man should have a better chance to win prosperity than he had ever yet had. In the long run the thrift, industry, energy and capacity of the individual must always remain the chief factors in his success. By unwise or dishonest legislation or administration on the part of the national authorities, all these qualities in the individual can be nullified, but wise legislation and upright administration will give them free scope. And it was this free scope that we promised should be given.

"Well, we kept our word. The opportunity has been given, and it has been seized by American energy, thrift and business enterprise. As a result, we have prospered as never before, and we are now prospering to a degree that would have seemed incredible four years ago, when the cloud of menace to our industrial well-being hung black above the land.

THE FOREIGN POLICY.

"So it has been in foreign affairs. Four years ago the nation was uneasy because right at our doors an American island lay writhing in awful agony under the curse of worse than mediæval tyranny and mis-

rule. We had our Armenia at our very doors, for the situation in Cuba had grown intolerable and such that this nation could no longer refrain from interference, and retain its own self-respect. President McKinley turned to this duty as he turned to others. He sought by every effort possible to provide for Spain's withdrawal from the island which she was impotent longer to do aught than oppress. Then, when pacific means had failed, and there remained the only alternative, we waged the most righteous and brilliantly successful foreign war that any country has waged during the lifetime of the present generation. It was not a great war, simply because it was won too quickly; but it was momentous, indeed, in its effects. It left us, as all great feats must leave those who perform them, an inheritance both of honor and of responsibility; and, under the lead of President McKinley the nation has taken up the task of securing orderly liberty and the reign of justice and law in the islands from which we drove the tyranny of Spain, with the same serious realization of duty and sincere purpose to perform it that has marked the national attitude in dealing with the economic and financial difficulties that face us at home.

"This is what the nation has done during the three years that have elapsed since we made McKinley President; and all this is what he typifies and stands for. We here nominate him again, and, in November next, we shall elect him again; because it has been given to him to personify the cause of honor abroad and prosperity at home, of wise legislation and straightforward administration.

"We all know the old adage about swapping horses while crossing a stream and the still older adage about letting well enough alone. To change from President McKinley now would be merely to swap horses. It would be to jump off the horse that had carried us across and wade back into the torrent; and to put him for four years more into the White House means not merely to let well enough alone, but to insist that when we are thriving as never, never before we shall not be plunged back into the abyss of shame and panic and disaster.

"We have done so well that our opponents actually use this very fact as an appeal for turning us out. We have put the tariff on a foundation so secure; we have passed such wise laws on finance that they actually appeal to the patriotic, honest men who deserted them at the last election to help them now, because, forsooth, we have done so well that nobody need fear their capacity to undo our work. I am not exagger-

ating. This is literally the argument that is now addressed to the gold Democrats as a reason why they need no longer stand by the Republican party. To all such who may be inclined to listen to these specious arguments I would address an emphatic word of warning.

"Remember that, admirable though our legislation has been during the past three years, it has been rendered possible and effective only because there was good administration to back it. Wise laws are invaluable, but, after all, they are not as necessary as wise and honest administration of the laws.

"The best law ever made, if administered by those who are hostile to it, and who mean to break it down, cannot be wholly effective, and may be wholly ineffective. We have at last put our financial legislation on a sound basis, but no possible financial legislation can save us from fearful and disastrous panic if we trust our finances to the management of any man who would be acceptable to the leaders and guides of the Democracy in its present spirit. No Secretary of the Treasury who would be acceptable to or who could without loss of self-respect serve under the Populistic Democracy could avoid plunging the country back into financial chaos. Until our opponents have explicitly and absolutely repudiated the principles which in '96 they professed, and the leaders who embody these principles, their success means the undoing of the country. Nor have they any longer even the excuse of being honest in their folly. They have raved, they have foamed at the mouth in the denunciation of trusts, and now, in my own State, their foremost party leaders, including the man before whom the others now bow with bared heads and trembling knee, have been discovered in a trust which really is of infamous and perhaps of criminal character; a trust in which these apostles of Democracy, prophets of the new dispensation, have sought to wring fortunes from the dire need of their poorer brethren.

"I rise to second the nomination of William McKinley because with him as leader this country has trod the path of national greatness and prosperity with the strides of a giant, and because, under him, we can, and will, once more and finally overthrow those whose success would mean for the nation material disaster and moral disgrace. Exactly as we have remedied the evils which, in the past, we undertook to remedy, so, now, when we say that a wrong shall be righted it most assuredly will be righted.

"We have nearly succeeded in bringing peace and order to the Phil-

ippines. We have sent thither and to the other islands toward whose inhabitants we now stand as trustees in the cause of good government men like Wood, Taft and Allen, whose very names are synonyms of integrity, and guarantees of efficiency. Appointees like these, with subordinates chosen on grounds of merit and fitness alone, are evidence of the spirit and methods in, and by which, this nation must approach its new and serious duties. Contrast this with what would be the fate of the islands under the spoils system so brazenly advocated by our opponents in their last national platform.

"The war still goes on because the allies in this country of the bloody insurrectionary oligarchy have taught their foolish dupes abroad to believe that, if the rebellion is kept alive until next November, Democratic success at the polls here will be followed by the abandonment of the islands—that means their abandonment to savages who would scramble for what we desert, until some powerful civilized nation stepped in to do what we would have shown ourselves unfit to perform. Our success in November means peace in the islands.

"The success of our political opponents means an indefinite prolongation of misery and bloodshed. We of this convention now renominate the man whose name is a guaranty against such disaster. When we place William McKinley as our candidate before the people we place the Republican party on record as standing for the performance which squares with promise, as standing for the redemption in administration and legislation of the pledges made in the platform and on the stump, as standing for the upbuilding of the national honor and interest abroad, and the continuance at home of the prosperity which it has already brought to the farm and the workshop.

"We stand on the threshold of a new century, a century big with the fate of the great nations of the earth. It rests with us now to decide whether, in the opening years of that century, we shall march forward to fresh triumphs, or whether, at the outset, we shall deliberately cripple ourselves for the contest. Is America a weakling, to shrink from the world work that must be done by the world powers? No. The young giant of the West stands on a continent and clasps the crest of an ocean in either hand.

"Our nation, glorious in youth and strength, looks into the future with fearless and eager eyes, and rejoices as a strong man to run a race.

"We do not stand in craven mood, asking to be spared the task, cring-

ing as we gaze on the contest. No. We challenge the proud privilege of doing the work that Providence allots us, and we face the coming years high of heart and resolute of faith that to our people is given the right to win such honor and renown as has never yet been granted to the peoples of mankind."

The nomination of McKinley was also seconded by John W. Yerkes for Kentucky, Senator John M. Thurston for Nebraska, George Knight for California and Governor James A. Mount for Indiana.

The roll call by States and Territories showed 926 votes for McKinley, the full vote of the convention. Then the convention broke loose to celebrate the nomination and while the delegates marched with banners and plumes and assembled the State banners at the platform fifteen thousand spectators cheered and waved handkerchiefs, fans and flags for fifteen minutes.

There was the same enthusiasm and unanimity over the nomination of the candidate for Vice-President. Other names had been talked about and other candidates had sought the nomination, but the convention waited only to know that Governor Roosevelt would not decline the nomination if given to him. New England stood ready to present the name of John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy; Iowa was ready to nominate Congressman Jonathan P. Dolliver of that State; Minnesota had as her candidate ex-Senator Washburn of that State; Wyoming had as a favorite son, Colonel Jay L. Torrey, who commanded one of the Rough Rider regiments in the war with Spain; New York had endorsed Lieutenant Governor Woodruff, and other States also had their favorite sons. But these were all withdrawn when it was felt that Governor Roosevelt would not refuse the nomination he did not desire, and his name alone was presented to the convention.

The Hon. Lafayette Young of Iowa, who had been selected to nominate Mr. Dolliver, nominated Governor Roosevelt, and the nomination was seconded by the States of New York, Washington and Massachusetts. There was one speech in presenting the name of Roosevelt, which will live with the candidate's history. It was that of Senator Chauncey M. Depew and a paragraph from it gives a pen picture of Governor Roosevelt. Senator Depew said:

"I had the pleasure of nominating him two years ago for Governor, when all the signs pointed to the loss of New York in the election, but he charged up and down the old State from Montauk Point to Niagara

Falls as he went up San Juan Hill (applause), and the Democrats fled before him as the Spaniards had in Cuba. (Applause.)

"It is a peculiarity of American life that our men are not born to anything, but they get there afterward.

"McKinley, a young soldier and coming out a major; McKinley, a Congressman and making a tariff; McKinley, a President, elected because he represented the protection of American industries, and McKinley after four years' development, in peace, in war, in prosperity and in adversity, the greatest President save one or two this country ever had, and the greatest ruler in Christendom today. (Applause.) So with Colonel Roosevelt—we call him 'Teddy.' (Applause.) He was the child of New York, of New York city, the place that you gentlemen from the West think means 'coupons, clubs and eternal damnation for everyone.' 'Teddy,' this child of Fifth Avenue—he was the child of the clubs; he was the child of the exclusiveness of Harvard College, and he went West and became a cowboy. (Applause and laughter.) And then he went into the Navy Department and became an assistant secretary. He gave an order and the old chiefs of bureaus came to him and said: 'Why, Colonel, there is no authority and no requisition to burn this powder.'

" 'Well,' said the Colonel, 'we have got to get ready when war comes, and powder was manufactured to be burned.' (Applause.)

"And the burning of that powder sunk Cervera's fleet outside of Santiago's harbor and the fleet at Manila Bay. (Applause.)

"At Santiago a modest voice was heard, exceedingly polite, addressing a militia regiment, lying upon the ground, while the Spanish bullets were flying over them. This voice said: 'Get one side, gentlemen, please, one side, gentlemen, please, that my men can get out.' And when this polite man got his men out in the open, where they could face the bayonet and face the bullet, there was a transformation, and the transformation was that the dude had become a cowboy, the cowboy had become a soldier, the soldier had become a hero, and, rushing up the hill, pistol in hand (great applause), the polite man shouted to the militiamen lying down, 'Give them hell, boys! Give them hell!' (Applause.)

That was so true a picture of Colonel Roosevelt that it took the Convention off its feet and for some minutes Depew and the Colonel of the Rough Riders were the center of a veritable cyclone of applause which

whirled through the great Convention hall until 15,000 people were drawn into it to cheer the name of the hero of San Juan Hill.

The roll call of States showed 925 votes for Roosevelt. There was one not recorded. It was that of Governor Roosevelt, who sat as a delegate from New York and would not permit his State to cast his vote for his own nomination. Again were enacted the same scenes of enthusiasm that had followed the nomination of President McKinley, and Roosevelt was the center of the demonstration.

CHAPTER XV.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM FOR 1900

The Republican party has a record of fighting for principles rather than for men or offices. Its platforms from 1856, when the party was organized, until to-day have been plain and explicit declarations of sound and patriotic principles of popular government, and as the party has been commissioned by the people, it has carried into the legislative and executive action every great principle which it has embodied in its platforms. The Republican platform which is a pledge of action must necessarily be conservative rather than reckless in its language. It is a rule of action to be accepted or rejected by the majority of the American people, not a harangue to excite the passions and prejudices and then to be abandoned for more conservative action when it secures power for a political party. The platform adopted by the Republican Convention at Philadelphia is such as the Republican party has adopted in other conventions of the past, a plain, straight-forward declaration of such principles of government as have proved to be for the best interests of all classes of our people and all sections of the country.

Senator Fairbanks of Indiana was Chairman of the Committee on Platform and among the members of that important committee were Senators Davis of Minnesota, Foraker of Ohio, Gallinger of New Hampshire, Carter of Montana, Penrose of Pennsylvania and McCumber of North Dakota, Governor Taylor of Kentucky and others of equal note. This committee did not accept a ready-made platform from the administration or any other high source of politics, but considered carefully all resolutions presented, and after many hours of labor presented the following resolutions, which were adopted:

"The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives, met in National Convention, looking back on an unapproached record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

"The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, entrusted power four years ago to the Republican

Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed and the national credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed.

"The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and law making gold the standard of value.

THE COUNTRY'S GREAT PROSPERITY.

"The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. This commission has been executed and the Republican promise has been redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any Government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation.

"Capital is fully employed and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this—that while during the whole period of 107 years, from 1790 to 1897, there was an excess of exports over imports of only \$383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of \$1,483,537,094, and while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights.

HIGH PURPOSE OF THE WAR.

"No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American Government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action, its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore tri-

bute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors and to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given 'a new birth of freedom' and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

ADMINISTRATION OF M'KINLEY INDORSED.

"We indorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation, walking untried paths and assuming unforeseen responsibilities. President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

"In asking the American people to indorse this record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the Government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

GOLD STANDARD INDORSED.

"We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis have been secured.

"We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day.

OPPOSITION TO FREE SILVER.

"We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

TRADE RESTRICTION OPPOSED.

"We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producers, laborers and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

THE PROTECTION PRINCIPLE.

"We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market, competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured, and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them finally to enter the markets of the world.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

"We favor the associated policy of reciprocity, so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce, in return for free foreign markets. In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction of the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract, convict labor and an effective system of labor insurance.

TO RESTORE THE FLAG TO THE SEA.

"Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The national defence and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling motive for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade-carrying fleets of the world.

LIBERAL PENSIONS FAVORED.

"The nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the Government's duty to provide for the survivors, and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws founded in this just sentiment should be liberal and should be liberally administered, and preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

FITNESS IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

"We commend the policy of the Republican party in maintaining the efficiency of the civil service. The Administration has acted wisely in its effort to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public

service in those territories should be confined as far as practicable to their inhabitants.

THE NEGRO VOTE.

"It was the plain purpose of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State whether by statutory or Constitutional enactment to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary and should be condemned.

"Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the legislatures of the several States.

"We favor the extension of the rural free-delivery service wherever its extension may be justified. In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes in the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for the irrigation of the respective States and Territories.

"We favor home rule and the early admission to Statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma.

REDUCTION OF WAR TAXES.

"The Dingley act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of \$40,000,000. So ample are the Government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly funded 2 per cent bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting, and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about a reduction of the war taxes.

AMERICAN CONTROL OF THE CANAL.

"We favor the construction, ownership, control and protection of an Isthmian canal by the Government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the Administration is warmly to be commended for its suc-

cessful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the Open Door in China.

NEW CABINET PLACE.

"In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries in the charge of a Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet.

"The United States consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new department, upon a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the nation's increasing trade.

"The American Government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

PRAISE FOR WOMEN'S HELP IN THE WAR.

"We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the Volunteer Aid Association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful coöperation in all works of education and industry.

CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

"President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended in securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific. Every American interest has been safeguarded.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

"We commend the part taken by our Government in the Peace Conference at The Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine. The provisions of The Hague Convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African republics. While the American Government must con-

tinue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President and imposed upon us by The Hague Treaty, of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

"We commend the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands.

PHILIPPINES POLICY.

"In accepting by the Treaty of Paris the just responsibilities of our victories in the Spanish war the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the West Indies and in the Philippine Islands.

"That course created our responsibility before the world, and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain to provide for the maintenance of law and order and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations. Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

PLEDGES TO CUBA TO BE KEPT.

"The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law. To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter, this pledge shall be performed.

"The Republican party upon its history and upon this declaration of its principles and policies confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people."

THE
DEMOCRACY OF TO-DAY

WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY STANDS FOR
NOW AND WHAT IT HAS BEEN

A DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES OF THE PENDING CAMPAIGN.

WITH SKETCHES OF THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEES,
WILLIAM J. BRYAN AND ADLAI E. STEVENSON

BY
WILLIS J. ABBOT.

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INTRODUCTION

It has devolved upon the Democratic party in this new crisis of the nation's history to reaffirm the four cardinal truths of free government set forth by Jefferson, the great founder of the party, in the Declaration of Independence:

That all men are created equal;

That all men are endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;

That governments are instituted among men to secure these rights;

That governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

These four principles, upon which the Republic was founded and upon whose permanence the integrity of free government depends, stand in greater peril to-day than at any time since they were first declared. The party which has been in power since 1865—since the death of Lincoln—has pursued a course, from that time to this, of uniform hostility to these fundamentals of republicanism in its true sense. That party has steadily led in the encroachment of the few, the rich, the favored, the exclusive, upon the declared rights of the common people. But only within recent months have its leaders reached the summit of their arrogance and dared openly to deny or condemn the principles they have long despised in secret.

It is only since the last presidential election that the American people have heard the equality of men before the law denied by their leaders; the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, pronounced a fiction; the purpose of government openly stated to be the extension of trade and territory without regard to rights, and the consent of the governed as a prerequisite to just government sneered at in high places as an exploded fallacy.

Never before, since the days when Hamilton was voicing his contempt for and distrust of the common people, have such sentiments found utterance upon American lips. Never before were the rights of the people in

such peril. For, while Hamilton and his fellow Federalists had power only to give verbal expression to their monarchical and plutocratic heresies, their successors, the imperialists of to-day, have been able and have dared to employ all the machinery of government, the army and navy, the power of the executive, the legislative function, and even the courts give force and effect to their damnable doctrines, both at home and abroad.

Having control of both branches of the congress, as well as of the presidency, the Republican leaders have used the occasion of a war, begun upon the pretext of humanity, to establish a standing army of such proportions as to menace the liberties of the people. The nation having by the fortunes of war come into possession of alien territory in both the East and the West Indies, these conspirators have denied the right of citizenship and the protection of the Constitution to those natives who came willingly to our standards. Those who resisted are being pursued with fire and sword, American arms being employed in the prosecution of an invasion wholly analogous to that which enlisted the fathers of this republic against the armies of King George III of England. The right has been claimed by Americans thus to enforce a government upon a liberty-loving people without the consent of the governed. The successor in the White House of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln has sought to exercise monarchical rights over "subject colonies," decreeing one form of government for Caucasians living under the American flag and another for Malays; republicanism for Americans in Florida and a "benevolent despotism" for Americans in Porto Rico.

"To me," wrote Franklin in an often quoted letter to Lord Howe, touching England's policy toward her colonies in America,—*"To me it seems that neither the obtaining nor retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce are the goodness and cheapness of commodities, and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise, and I am persuaded that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it, and that even success will not save from some degree of dishonor those who voluntarily engaged to conduct it."*

The American imperialists of 1900 do not shame to plead trade and

commerce in justification of their aggression in the Philippines or their denial of justice to the Porto Ricans.

An era of brutal aggression for the sake of wealth seems to possess the earth. England, inspired by her own plutocrats and imperialists, is engaged in an unholy war to throttle the gallant republic of South Africa, giving to the Boers the same taste of "Anglo-Saxon civilization" that our imperialists are holding to the lips of the struggling Filipinos. And the patriots of both nations have had to hang their heads while Christendom pointed the finger of well-deserved scorn at the spectacle. For Americans who love their country the disgrace has been made more poignant by the undeniable sympathy and abettance accorded by their own chosen rulers to the enemies of a sister republic in distress.

The conspiracy has spanned the ocean. In America, as in England, the cynical apothegm of Cecil Rhodes has become the new charter of rights: "The flag is a commercial asset." With us militarism and plutocracy have all but abandoned pretense. The full malignity of their purpose now stands revealed. Wars of aggression in distant islands are to be but the prelude to a steady war of oppression at home. The standing army raised to persecute the Filipinos is to be maintained to check the righteous protests of American labor against the despotism of monopoly and enforce the supremacy of organized wealth. Already in the Coeur d' Alenes this purpose has been disclosed. In partial return for the money with which his office was purchased, the President has been forced to send the army of the United States into a peaceful district, suspend the Constitution and substitute a ruthless martial order for the civil law.

In a hundred other ways less openly violent, but no less menacing to the popular liberties, the same power manifests itself with increasing boldness. The term of the incumbent administration has witnessed the subjugation of American industry to a new and insidious form of monopoly. The price of virtually all the staples of life has been removed from the domain of supply and demand and been made a creature of the greed or caprice of individuals who defy at once the protests of their victims and the law.

The agents of these new giants of industry invade the halls of congress and fix the terms of legislation. Even the White House is not closed in their faces. Within a few months their power has had its most odious and most startling manifestation in the shameful spectacle of a President

of the United States publicly recanting his avowed principles upon a plain question of moral and constitutional right.

Seeing these infamies practiced at home and abroad in the name of patriotism and the "old flag," we realize what Dr. Johnson meant when he spoke of patriotism as "that last refuge of scoundrels." The standard of the Republic has been used to stimulate the "war spirit" and mask the sinister purposes of its worst enemies. Greed for new territory and new wealth has justified any and all means by which they can be obtained. The lover of his country who has dared to call a halt to this headlong course has been denounced as "traitor" and "copperhead." "Everywhere," said Sir Thomas Moore, describing a state of affairs not wholly unlike the present, "do I perceive a certain conspiracy of rich men seeking their private advantage under the name and pretext of the Commonwealth."

Happily for the Republic, the Democracy has been neither blind to these perils nor daunted by their magnitude. To the present situation the Party of the People brings the experience of a full century and the record of more than one victory over the power of monopoly and organized greed. It is a hundred years since Thomas Jefferson, having aroused the friends of human rights and civil liberty, led them to victory at the polls. The American Democracy, thus organized into a party, lived upon the impetus given by its great founder until a new champion was found, in Andrew Jackson, to lead its hosts against a new enemy. The National Bank marshaled in aid of its gigantic monopoly a host of politicians, subsidized newspapers, financiers and wealthy men of business, as powerful, as arrogant and as contemptuous of popular rights as is the similar army which swarms to the support of the administration now in power.

But the genius of Jefferson, reinforced by the courage and sagacity of his great successor, once more sufficed to rally the hosts of the people. The contest which ensued was the bitterest known in American politics, but the result was never really in doubt. In the end the victory came, as it always must, to "human rights against inhuman greed." In the message accompanying his veto of the National Bank act, President Jackson used these words which recur with startling force at this time:

"In the full enjoyment of the gifts of heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the law undertakes to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities and exclusive

privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government. There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as heaven does its rain, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing.”

The struggle has never ceased from that day to this—the struggle of the dollar for mastery over the man. Lincoln himself had it in mind when he warned the country of a “greater conflict” to follow the fall of black slavery, in which a new and no less hateful serfdom would menace the poor. It was during his first administration that he wrote:

“Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position, I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism. It is not needed or fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of government.”

Thus the encroachments of the plutocracy upon the rights of the common people are not a new or an unreal danger. They have been recognized and combated from the beginnings of the Republic by its wisest and most patriotic leaders. That they are more real and more menacing to-day than ever before is a natural evolution of the years of Republican ascendancy following the civil war. From that time until the present, the party of special privilege and plutocracy held undisputed control of the federal government, virtually unbroken by the interregnum of false democracy under Grover Cleveland.

During this period class legislation became the order of the day, and wealth not only sought favors from the government, but secured exemption from just burdens. When war taxes were to be reduced, the taxes bearing upon the rich were taken off first. The income tax was repealed in the face of protests even from the more conservative members of the ruling party. High duties were placed upon the necessities of life on the ground that infant industries required assistance, with the result that the owners of the aided industries grew rich, while home-owning

decreased and tenancy increased among the consumers. Railroads were constructed upon a plan which permitted watered stock, fictitious capitalization and the over-issue of bonds, with the result that the patrons of the roads became the victims of extortionate rates and the manipulators of the roads became suddenly and enormously rich.

All financial legislation was in the interest of bondholders and the creditor class. Government contracts were boldly altered to that end. In 1873, a change was made in the standard money, so wanton and indefensible that scarcely any public man connected with that outrage has been willing to admit it since, and every party convention for twenty-three years gave pledge for the restoration of the double standard.

The Democracy forced the issue four years ago by taking a positive and unequivocal position in favor of the immediate restoration of bimetallism, without regard to the other nations, at the legal ratio. This action has had the happy effect of driving the false Democrats out of the party and forcing the Republicans to throw away duplicity and align themselves openly, where their leaders have always really stood,—with the British gold standard. There is no longer even a pretense in the camp of the plutocracy of intent to redeem the pledges of many years and give effect to repeated promises to restore silver to its lawful place.

Openly now, and without reserve, the Republican party is the party of the creditor class, at whatever cost to the common people. The people no longer figure in their plans or councils. Having taken another step toward the gold standard, and having provided for the substitution of bank notes for greenbacks, they now declare the money question settled; but, as Mr. Bryan has pointed out, they have in reserve the withdrawal of the legal tender function from the silver dollar and the establishment of the branch bank, neither of which they now discuss, but both of which they will attempt as soon as they think it safe to do so.

To meet these manifold perils the Democracy is better prepared than ever before because all the trust magnates, monopolists and false prophets have left its ranks and arrayed themselves openly with the enemy. More clearly than ever the issue is defined between the people and those who seek to oppress and exploit them. Monopoly, imperialism, special privilege and class legislation are the standards raised on one side; on the other the Democracy takes its stand, confident as ever in the virtue, the intelligence and the resistless power of the American people.



WILLIAM J. BRYAN



ADLAI E. STEVENSON

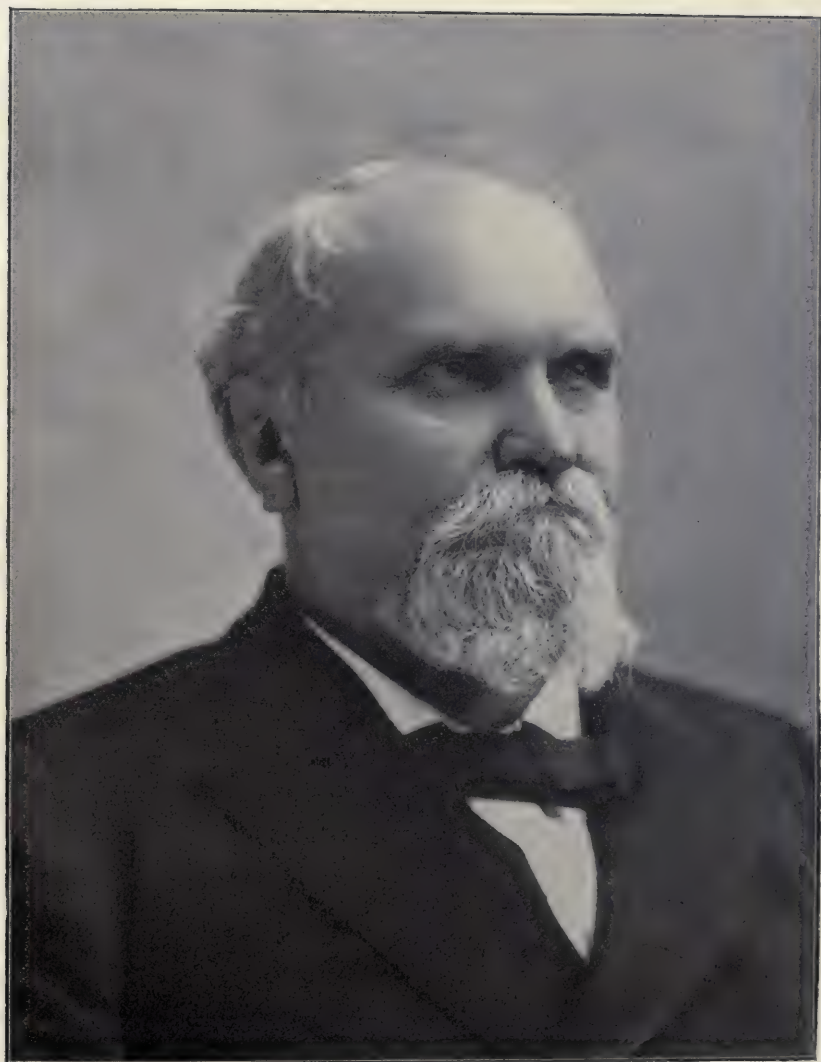
JAMES K. JONES

Senator James K. Jones, of Arkansas, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee for several years, is a typical Southern statesman who does his constituents and his country loyal service. His home for many years has been in Washington, Hempstead county, although he was born in Marshall county, Mississippi, September 29, 1839. His father was a rich planter of the old Arkansas aristocracy who knew the value of learning and saw to it that his son had a thorough classical education.

When the Civil War began young Jones had finished his education and was a sturdy young planter of twenty-two years of age. He might have been an officer as so many of the neighboring young men of the same circle of society were, but he enlisted as a private and served with courage, although on the losing side, till the end of the war. After peace returned to the Nation he lived on his own plantation till 1873, when having read law and commenced the practice of his profession, he was elected to the State Senate of Arkansas. He was a member of that body when the constitutional convention of 1874 was called to consider the necessary "reconstruction" measures. He was elected and re-elected under the new government, and in 1877 was elected president of the State Senate.

It was in 1881 that Senator Jones entered national politics, being elected to the Forty-seventh Congress as a member of the House of Representatives. He was re-elected to the next two Congresses, only to be promoted thence to a seat in the Senate. He was elected to the latter body by the Legislature of his State as a Democrat to succeed James D. Walker, taking his seat March 4, 1885. Re-elected twice since that time, his term of service will expire in 1903.

Senator Jones became most conspicuous to the country at large when in 1896 as Chairman of the Democratic National Committee he managed the remarkable campaign for the presidency made by William J. Bryan. In this capacity of course he became well known to every one of the party leaders and workers, as well as to hosts of others, north as well as south. Earnest in the cause which he supported, he became one of the popular national figures and there was a general sentiment of approval when his party adherents learned that he was to conduct the campaign of 1900 for the Democratic ticket.



JAMES K. JONES

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ARKANSAS

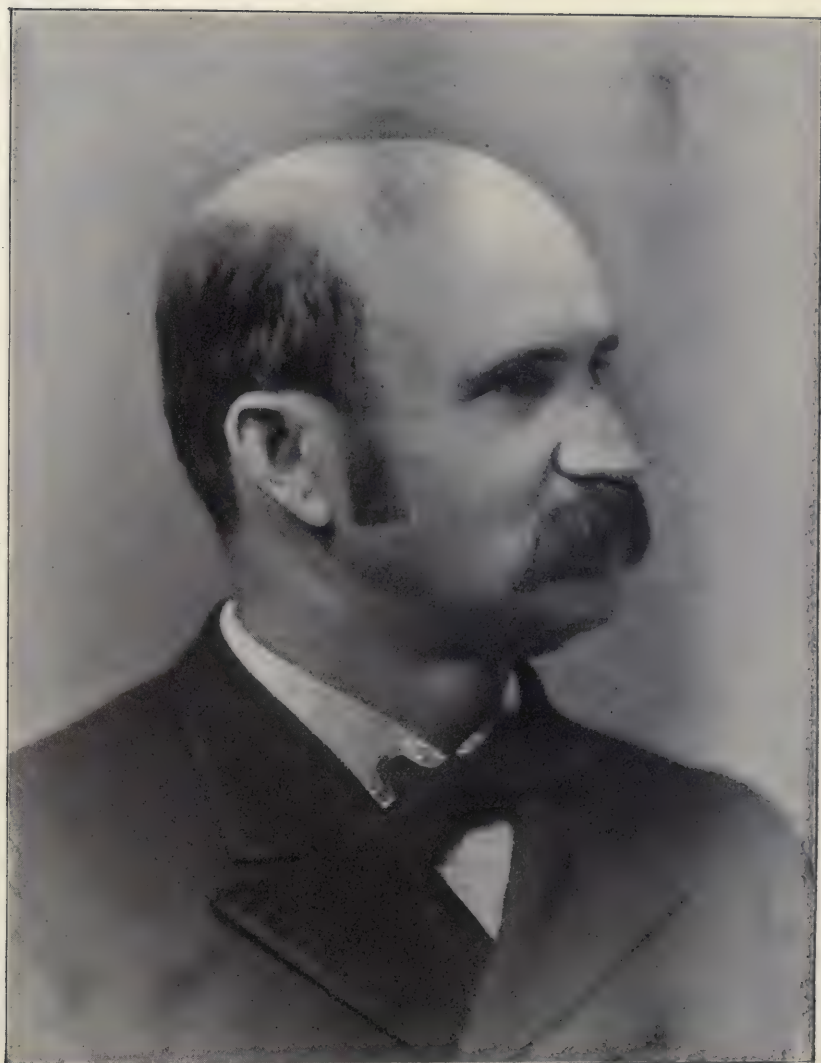
DAVID BENNETT HILL

David Bennett Hill was born on August 20, 1843, in the little village of Havana, in Chemung (now Schuyler) County, New York. He was essentially a man of the people. His father was a house carpenter in humble circumstances. Nevertheless, out of his savings he was enabled to give his son a fair education, not only at the common schools, but at the academy of his native place. Young David then entered a lawyer's office in the same village, where he made fires, swept out the office, and dusted the books of his employer, occupying such leisure as was left him in weeding his mother's garden, and tending to the household "chores." Ever willing and obliging, he attracted the favorable attention of Mr. Hart, a lawyer from Elmira.

"My lad," said Hart, "come down with me to Elmira, and I will make you a lawyer from my office." He went, and two years later, when he was scarcely twenty-one years of age, was admitted to the bar.

He had political aspirations, and threw himself heart and soul into the work of the Democratic party at Elmira. Before he had been six months in practice, he was elected city attorney. In 1868 he was appointed delegate to the Democratic State Convention, thereafter attending every succeeding convention, being president of the body in 1877 and 1881. In 1870-71 he was in the State Legislature. One of his first acts in the Albany Assembly was to introduce a bill advocating the abolition of contract labor in State prisons. The idea was not popular in 1870. It was thought by many to savor of demagoguery, and the bill came to an untimely end. But fourteen years later, when Mr. Hill was Lieutenant-Governor, it was his hand that held the gavel of the president of the Senate that gave the death-blow to the convict-labor system in New York State. In 1876 he was delegate to the National Convention that nominated Mr. Tilden, and was one of the most ardent champions of the Sage of Greystone.

In 1882 he was elected Mayor of Elmira. He was Lieutenant-Governor of New York under Cleveland in 1884 and upon Cleveland's resignation to assume the dignity of President, Mr. Hill became Governor for the unexpired term. In 1885 and again in 1888 he was re-elected for the full term of three years. In 1891 he was elected to the United States Senate, his term expiring March 3, 1897.



DAVID BENNETT HILL
EX-UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEW YORK

ARTHUR PUE GORMAN

Arthur Pue Gorman, of Laurel, was born in Howard County, Maryland, March 11, 1839. On his father's side he comes of Irish Presbyterian stock. Peter Gorman was a power in politics, though refusing to accept any office for himself. He became identified with the Douglas Democracy as one of its leaders in Maryland. Young Arthur received a meagre education at the public schools and at the age of thirteen his father had him appointed a page in the United States Senate. Here the ready intelligence and quick wit of the boy attracted the attention of Stephen A. Douglas, who made him his protege. Under the guidance of this able statesman, Gorman learned his first lessons in politics and statecraft. He continued in the service of the Senate until 1866, at which time he was postmaster. He left Washington at that time to become collector of internal revenue for the fifth district of Maryland. In June, 1869, he was made director of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal company, rising to be president in 1872. Meanwhile, in November, 1869, he had been elected to the Maryland Legislature as a Democrat. He was re-elected in 1871 and chosen Speaker of the House. In 1875 he was transferred to the State Senate, where he served for four years. In 1880 he reached what had long been the goal of his ambition. He was sent back to the Senate of the United States, not this time as a page, but as a full-fledged Senator from Maryland. He has remained there ever since.

Mr. Gorman is one of the most notable figures in the Senate. It was he who engineered and manoeuvred the opposing forces against the Lodge Bill. When a few years ago his old home near Laurel was burned, the flames fed upon one of the most complete and valuable historical and political libraries in the country. It then developed that when this much-sought-for man fled from Washington to the seclusion of his country home he was devoting himself to his books and to his family with the same enthusiasm that he gave to his political work.

Mr. Gorman's domestic life has been a peculiarly happy one. His wife was Mrs. Hattie D. Schwartz when he married her. They have six children.



ARTHUR PUE GORMAN
EX-UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MARYLAND

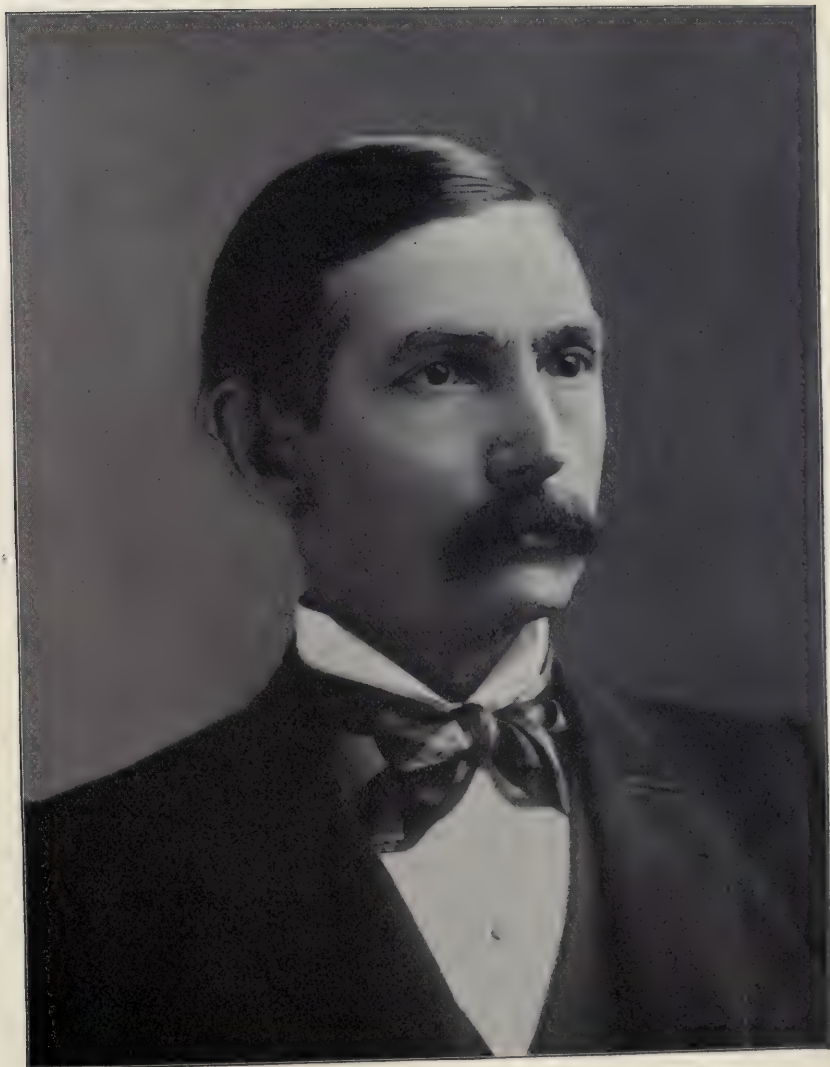
WILLIAM J. STONE

William J. Stone, ex-Governor of Missouri, was born in Kentucky, fifty-one years ago. He is tall, lank, and strikingly like Henry Clay in appearance, manner and training. He has served three terms as a Representative in Congress and for four years he was Governor of Missouri, the greatest Democratic State of the union.

In his earlier days, soon after graduating from the Missouri University, he served part of a term, after election by the people, as prosecuting attorney of Vernon county, Mo., the county seat of which, his home town, is Nevada. The office was worth about \$250 a year and carried with it a great deal of hard work. He soon discovered that there was more money fighting the State than there was in fighting for it, so he resigned and began taking the other side of cases that came to court. He soon grew into a good country practice, and in time became a successful and forceful practitioner along the whole gamut of the law. This gave him local fame, which he finally utilized to get a nomination for Congress. He was elected and twice re-elected, and gave at Washington the usual service of a country member. He was not especially taken with service in Congress and voluntarily gave up a third nomination to stand for Governor.

Mr. Stone has taken a strong, independent stand against machine politics and has consequently won the respect and admiration of his State. When a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination he was courageous enough to stand firm against the efforts of the "machine" managers in St. Louis to command a large local campaign contribution from him and to compel a promise that he would yield all the local offices to their selection. Nevertheless he recognized that the party workers who helped him should be recognized, and once elected he gave offices to some of the very men to whom he had refused to bind himself prior to the nomination.

In the Democratic National Convention of 1896 and the campaign that followed it he was one of the most energetic and effective workers in the national committee of which he is a member, and his services are highly prized by his fellow Democrats. In a State such as Missouri it is a distinction indeed to be the leading Democrat of all, and yet undoubtedly that is the position that would be ascribed to Mr. Stone if his fellow citizens of that commonwealth were to make such a comparison.



WILLIAM J. STONE
EX-GOVERNOR OF MISSOURI

JAMES DANIEL RICHARDSON

James Daniel Richardson, of Murfreesboro, was born in Rutherford county, Tenn., March 10, 1843. He attended the country schools as a child and was at Franklin College, near Nashville, when the war began. At the age of eighteen he entered the Confederate army as a private, leaving college before he graduated. He served four years in the army, the first year as a private, the remaining three as adjutant of the Forty-fifth Tennessee Infantry. One of his arms was permanently disabled at the battle of Atlanta.

When the war was ended he read law and began its practice in January, 1876, at Murfreesboro. He naturally drifted into politics. He was soon conspicuous in his community, and was elected in 1871 to the lower house of the Tennessee Legislature, and although but twenty-eight years of age, he enjoyed the unusual distinction of being elected to the speakership. The next two years he served in the State Senate. He was a delegate to the St. Louis Democratic convention in 1876, and to the Chicago Democratic convention in 1896, when he was temporary chairman. Owing to Permanent Chairman White's illness he presided much of the time in that officer's stead. He was first elected to the Forty-ninth Congress, has served in all subsequent Congresses and has been elected to the next.

When the Democratic representatives in Congress several years ago took the stand that Spanish oppression in the western hemisphere should cease, Richardson's speech was one of such eloquence and force as to attract wide attention.

Mr. Richardson has accomplished a serious historical work in his "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," a task entrusted to him by Congress. It is a superb compilation of all public Presidential documents, and constitutes a history of this country and its marvelous expansion from the standpoint of the nation's various executives. In its indexing, in its commentaries and explanations, Mr. Richardson has performed a difficult task most creditably from the view point of a historian and litterateur. It will endure as a valuable contribution to historical literature and as a reference for students of the world.

Mr. Richardson is a thirty-third degree Mason, and has been Grand Master of Tennessee, Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter, Royal Arch Masons, and Inspector-General of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of that State.



JAMES D. RICHARDSON
TENNESSEE

JOHN WARWICK DANIEL

John Warwick Daniel, of Virginia, was born in Lynchburg, Campbell county, Va., September 5, 1842. He was educated in private schools, Lynchburg College, and Dr. Gessner Harrison's University School. He entered the Confederate army as a second lieutenant in the "Stonewall Brigade" in May, 1861, and became major and chief of staff of General Jubal A. Early, as which he served until crippled in the Wilderness, May 6, 1864.

After the war he studied law in the University of Virginia in 1865-66, and practiced law with his father, the late Judge William Daniel Jr. of the Virginia Supreme Court, until his death in 1873. He has been created Doctor of Laws by Washington and Lee University and by Michigan University.

Senator Daniel began his political career as a member of the Virginia House, where he served from 1869 to 1872, and continued it in the Virginia Senate from 1875 to 1881. In 1881 he received the Democratic nomination for governor, but was defeated by W. E. Cameron, "readjuster," and returned to law practice. He was elected to the House of Representatives of the forty-ninth Congress in 1884. He was elected to the United States Senate as a Democrat, to succeed William Mahone, and took his seat March 4, 1887. He was unanimously re-elected in December, 1891, and unanimously re-elected for the third time, December, 1897. His term of service will expire March 3, 1905.

Senator Daniel is the author of "Daniel on Attachments" and "Daniel on Negotiable Instruments." He is one of the most distinguished-looking men in the Senate. Of medium height, with straight, square shoulders, heavy, black waving hair, piercing black eyes and a clear cut classical face, he presents a striking figure. He is one of the free silver leaders and a man of great influence. He is a ready debater, and because of his impressive, eloquent oratory is in great request as a public speaker.

During the Democratic convention of 1896 in Chicago, which resulted in the nomination of Mr. Bryan for the presidency, Senator Daniel was a commanding figure. He presided much of the time and made one of the most striking speeches. In the Senate he fought for American intervention in Cuban affairs and always has stood for movements looking toward the freedom of oppressed countries.



JOHN W. DANIEL

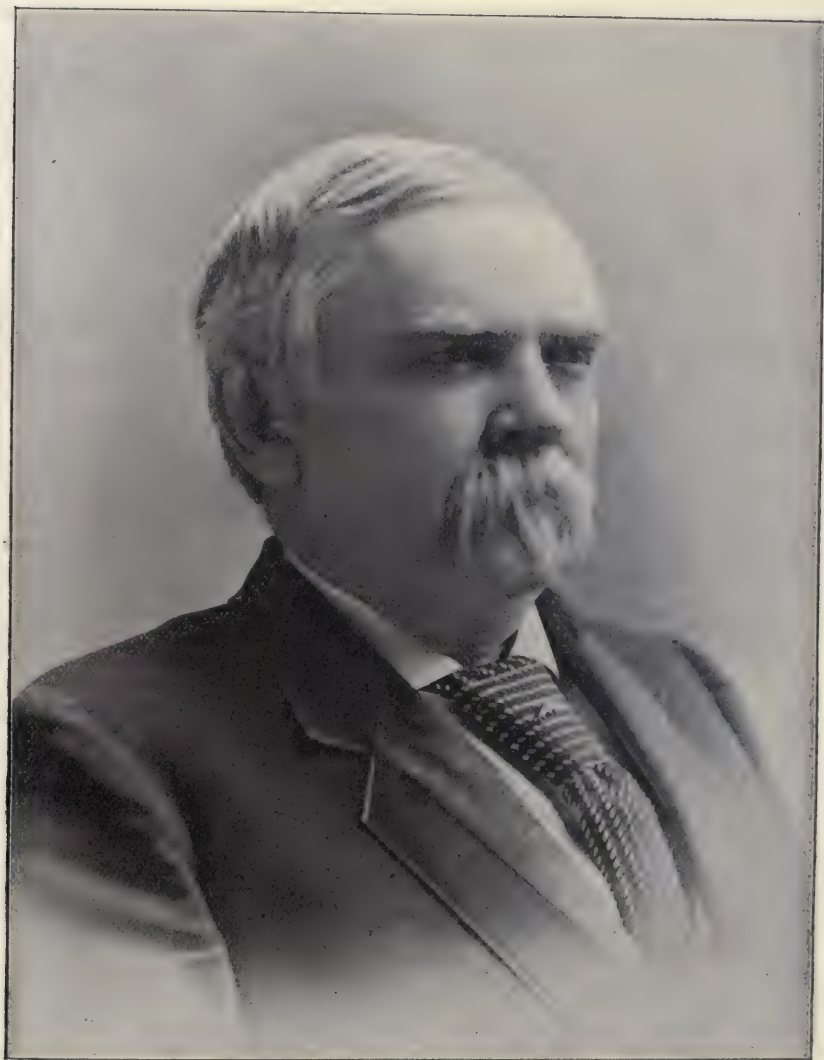
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA

GEORGE GRAHAM VEST

The famous Senator from Missouri, whose name is known to every student of national affairs, was born at Frankfort, Kentucky, December 6, 1830. Center College, in Danville, Kentucky, is noteworthy for the eminent men who have been educated there, and Senator Vest is not the least of the long list. Among them may be named forty-four college professors, twenty-six Congressmen, four United States Senators, seven Governors, two Vice-Presidents of the United States, one Justice of the Supreme Court, forty-nine editors and thirty-nine Circuit Judges. Finishing his college course, Mr. Vest entered the Law Department of Transylvania University, at Lexington, Kentucky, and graduated there in 1853.

About the time he finished his law studies, Mr. Vest married Miss Sallie Sneed, of Kentucky, and in 1853 they set out for California, with never a thought of becoming residents of the Mississippi valley. The lumbering vehicle in which they traveled was not in good condition, and a breakdown occurred at a small village, one of the quaint, ugly, irregular ante-bellum settlements of the new Southwest. The place was Georgetown, Missouri, and there it was that young Mr. and Mrs. Vest found themselves at the mercy of a broken wheel. While the stage passengers were thus awkwardly waiting, an old negro approached the young lawyer and asked his assistance. The black man explained that he had a son who was accused of murder. Feeling against the boy was very strong, and the father pleaded with the traveling attorney to stop and lend his assistance. Mr. Vest concluded to allow the stage to proceed while he undertook the task of helping the negro and his boy. When the trial was over the boy was acquitted. A mob was speedily formed, the young fellow was taken from the jail, and in a little while he was dead.

Because of his connection with this case Vest was not particularly popular, and for this reason, as much as any other, he concluded to become a Missourian and stand his ground. At once he began to secure a following, and in a short time was rated as one of the important lawyers of the section in which he lived. He was a Presidential elector on the Democratic ticket in 1860, a member of the Missouri House of Representatives at the same time, and three years a member of the Confederate Congress, serving in both houses. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1879, and has been thrice re-elected. His term will expire in 1903.



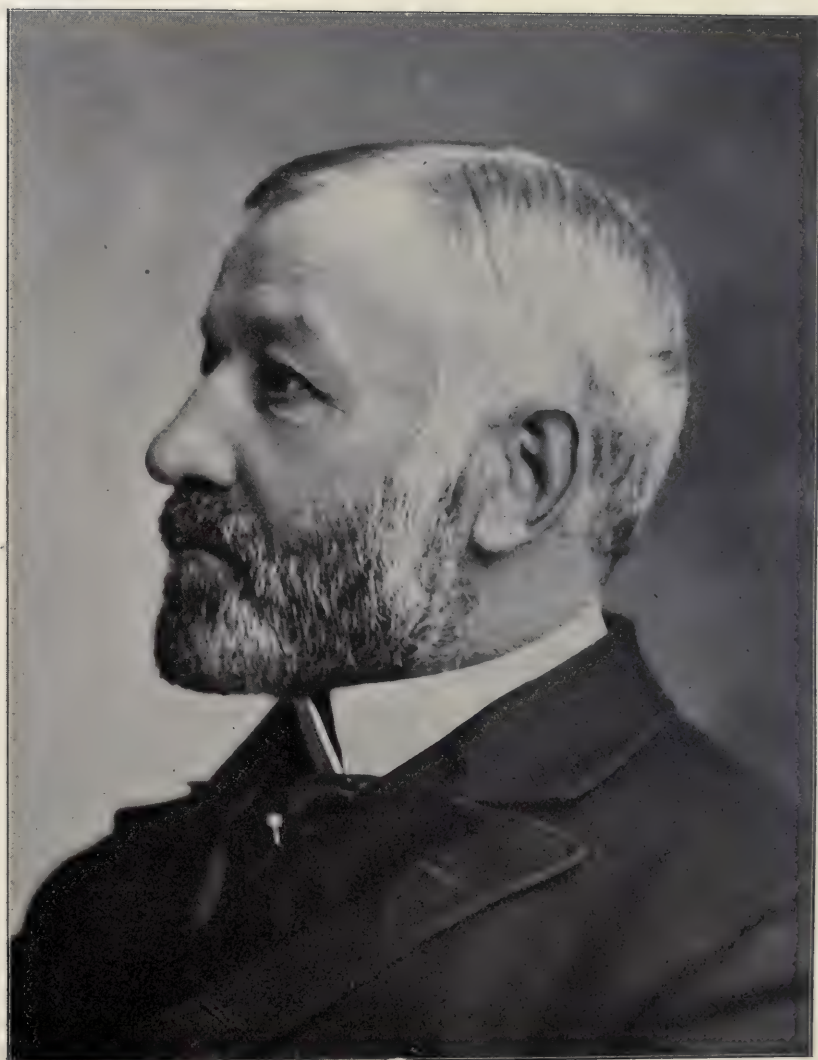
GEORGE G. VEST
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MISSOURI

RICHARD CROKER

The man who perhaps better than any other in the United States stands to his enemies as the embodiment of political bossism and to his friends as the personification of good faith and genuine loyalty is Richard Croker, leader of Tammany Hall. He was born in Ireland in 1840, coming to America with his parents when he was eleven years old. Settling in New York at once, he has grown to manhood and power in that city, gaining his strong political influence by the force of his own personality. He has been in turn a mechanic in a machine shop, the leader of a famous "gang" of street roughs and a leader in ward politics. He finally became an alderman, since which time he has never had any known business or interest except politics and office holding. The only exception is that in the last few years he has acquired an interest in a real estate firm in New York, and even more recently has become heavily interested in a valuable stable of race horses and in various city concessions and trusts in New York.

Such schooling as Richard Croker has had, he got in one of the public schools of New York, leaving it at an early age to begin the battle of life for himself. This was in 1856. His first situation was that of choreboy to a railway shop force at \$2 a week. As he grew older and stronger he became first a leader of the "Fourth avenue tunnel gang," and then a local leader in ward politics. Finally he aspired to be an alderman, was granted the nomination and was elected. Once in a political street fight a man was killed, and Croker was tried for the crime. He refused to testify, but the jury disagreed and ultimately he was discharged. Later the man who was guilty confessed on his death bed.

Mr. Croker has held the offices of alderman, coroner, fire commissioner and city chamberlain in New York, the latter office paying a salary of \$25,000 a year. His leadership of Tammany Hall, the great municipal organization of New York Democrats, whose influence rami-fies through city, county, state and national affairs, began with the death of John Kelly, his predecessor. He has extended and magnified the power of the place until to-day he has to be reckoned with in every political move contemplated by his party.



RICHARD CROKER

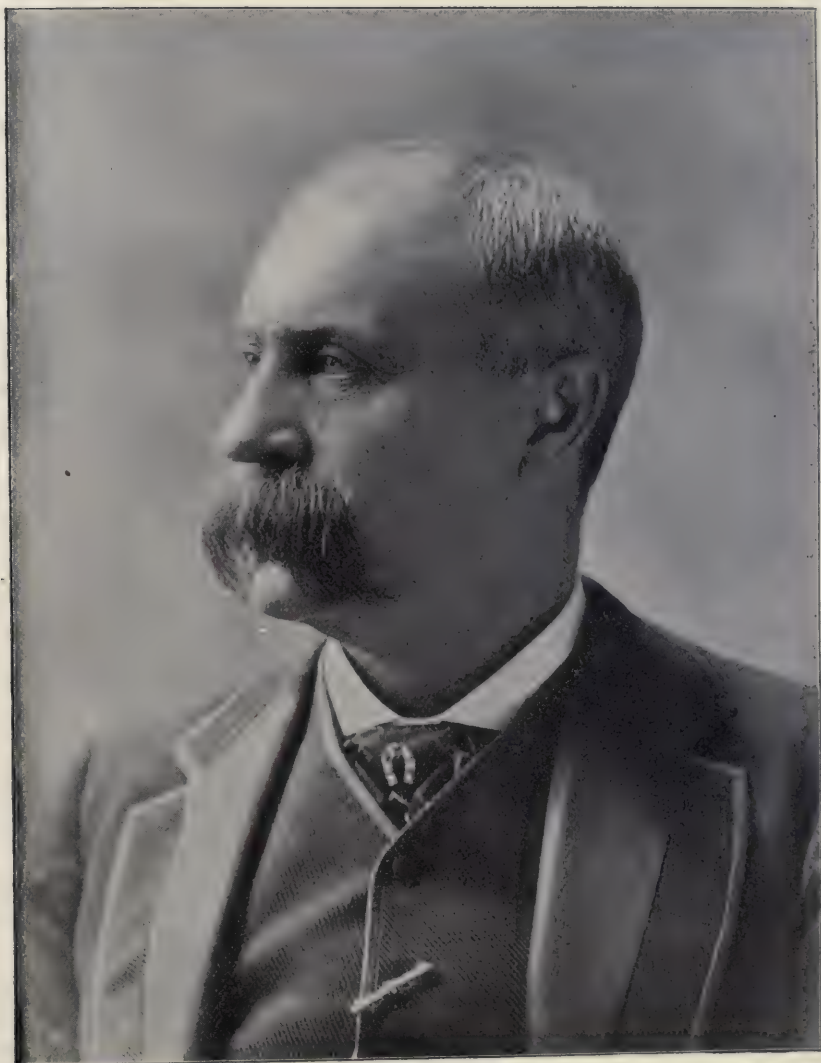
NEW YORK

JOSEPH C. S. BLACKBURN

Senator Joseph Clay Stiles Blackburn, of Kentucky, is one of the sturdy Democrats of that commonwealth where pioneers made glorious history and fought their way against the savages. He is a native of the State he serves, and is a typical Kentuckian in manners and looks, a popular man among all parties and all parts of the State, and worthy of the honors which have been granted him.

He was born in Woodford County, October 1, 1838, and gaining his education in village schools as a boy, went next to Sayres Institute at Frankfort, and finally completed his studies by attending Center College at Danville, Ky., from which he graduated in 1857 when he was nineteen years of age. Studying law under the direction of George B. Kincaid, of Lexington, he was admitted to the bar in 1858. At first he chose Chicago for his place of residence, and removing to that rising city he practiced his profession there until 1861, when the outbreak of the Civil War interrupted his quiet life. Returning to his native county he entered the Confederate army and served until the end of the war, making a creditable record as a soldier for himself.

When the war ended Mr. Blackburn, then twenty-seven years old, resumed the practice of law, but this time in his home State. He rose in his profession and in the political circles which he entered, and in 1871 was elected a member of the Kentucky Legislature, in which he served for two terms, or four years. In 1874 he was elected to the House of Representatives as a Democrat, and by successive re-elections served in Congress until 1885. In that year he was elected United States Senator to succeed John S. Williams, and in 1891 he was re-elected, making a service in the Senate at the close of the second term in 1897, of twelve years. At the end of that time the Kentucky Legislature went into what is known in politics as a "deadlock," and although Senator Blackburn came within two votes of being chosen, there was no election that year. In January, 1900, however, his name was again submitted, and he was elected once more as United States Senator to succeed William Lindsay. Senator Blackburn is a pronounced Silver Democrat, in full sympathy with his party, and is recognized as one of the party leaders. Kentuckians have more than once considered submitting his name as a Presidential candidate.



JOSEPH C. S. BLACKBURN
KENTUCKY

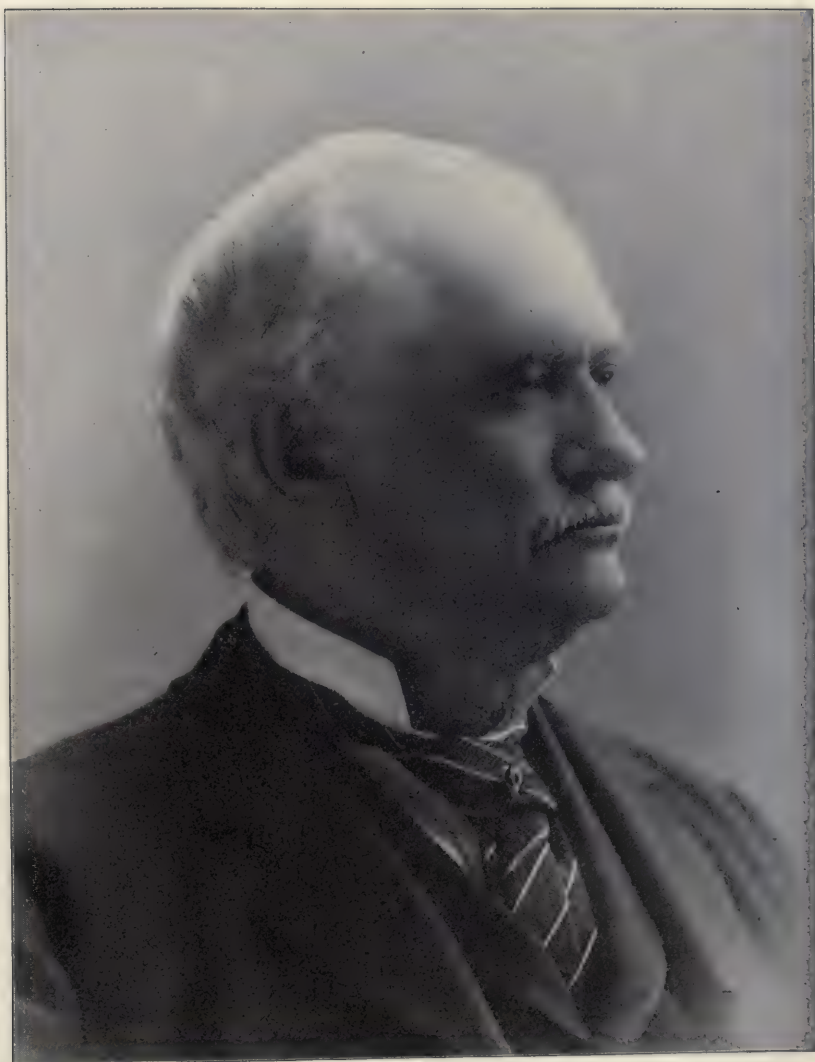
JOHN T. MORGAN

The venerable and influential senior Senator from Alabama, recognized in all parties as one of the most able and powerful members of that body, has been conspicuous for public service in his State and in the United States for many years. He was born at Athens, Tennessee, June 20, 1824, and received an academic education, chiefly in Alabama, where he removed when a boy of nine years of age. Since then Selma has been his place of residence. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1845, and whenever in private life has practiced his profession since that time.

Mr. Morgan began his political career as a young man and in 1860 was a Presidential elector, voting for Breckinridge and Lane. The next year he was a delegate from Dallas County to the State convention, which passed the ordinance of secession. Willing to fight for the cause he supported, he enlisted as a private in Company I, Cahaba Rifles. When that company was assigned to the Fifth Alabama regiment, under Colonel Robert E. Rodes, he was elected major and afterwards lieutenant-colonel of that regiment. He was commissioned in 1862 as colonel and raised the Fifty-first Alabama regiment. The next year he was appointed a brigadier-general and assigned to a brigade in Virginia, but soon resigned to join his regiment, whose colonel had been killed in battle. Later in the same year he was again appointed brigadier-general and assigned to an Alabama brigade which included his old regiment.

At the close of the war General Morgan resumed the practice of his profession at Selma and stood high among the lawyers of the State. He was chosen a Presidential elector-at-large for Alabama in 1876, and voted for Tilden and Hendricks. The same year he was elected to the United States Senate to succeed George Goldthwaite, taking his seat March 5, 1877. He was re-elected in 1882, 1888 and 1894, his present term of service therefore expiring March 3, 1901.

In the summer of 1897, Senator Morgan made a journey to the Hawaiian Islands, remaining there several weeks and visiting all parts of the archipelago. Having informed himself fully concerning all the affairs of the islands his knowledge was of great value to his fellow Senators when Congress reassembled. As a natural consequence he was appointed a member of the commission to prepare a system of laws for Hawaii. He is a Democrat of the old school and warmly admired by his colleagues.



JOHN T. MORGAN
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ALABAMA

BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN

Benjamin Ryan Tillman, the famous radical of Trenton, was born on his father's plantation in Edgefield County, South Carolina, August 11, 1847. During the war he was attending an academy at Bethany. His elder brothers in the field wrote to encourage him to make the best of his opportunities, for the war might prove of such duration as to rob him of educational advantages, did he quit school to join the army. The boy's craving for learning and his desire to enter the Confederate army drove him to the woods at night to study his Greek and Latin by the flaring light of a pine knot torch in order to hasten his education. One night the heat of the torch caused an injury to his left eye, which resulted in a severe illness lasting two years. When he finally recovered the war was over and the eye was blind.

In 1867 he removed to Florida, where a year later he married Miss Starke. He helped in the election of Wade Hampton, and was captain of the Edgefield Hussars, where he acquired his title of captain.

Mr. Tillman was a farmer and took no active part in politics till 1886, when he began the agitation for industrial and technical education which culminated in the establishment of the Clemson Agricultural and Mechanical College at Fort Hill. The boldness of his utterances startled the conservatives and a war of denunciation was begun against the innovator, who was contemptuously styled the "Agricultural Moses." He accepted the title and wrote a brilliant series of letters to the *Charleston News and Courier*. The farmers read them eagerly and he was put forward by them as a candidate for Governor in 1890. After an exciting and heated canvass he was elected as a Democrat. This was his first political office and he was re-elected in 1892 by an overwhelming vote. His term as Governor was signalized by the passage of the dispensary law for the control of the liquor traffic by the State and by the establishment of another college, the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College for Women at Rock Hill. He entered the race for the Senate against General Butler and was elected by a vote of 131 to 21. His term of service will expire March 3, 1901.



BENJAMIN RYAN TILLMAN
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA

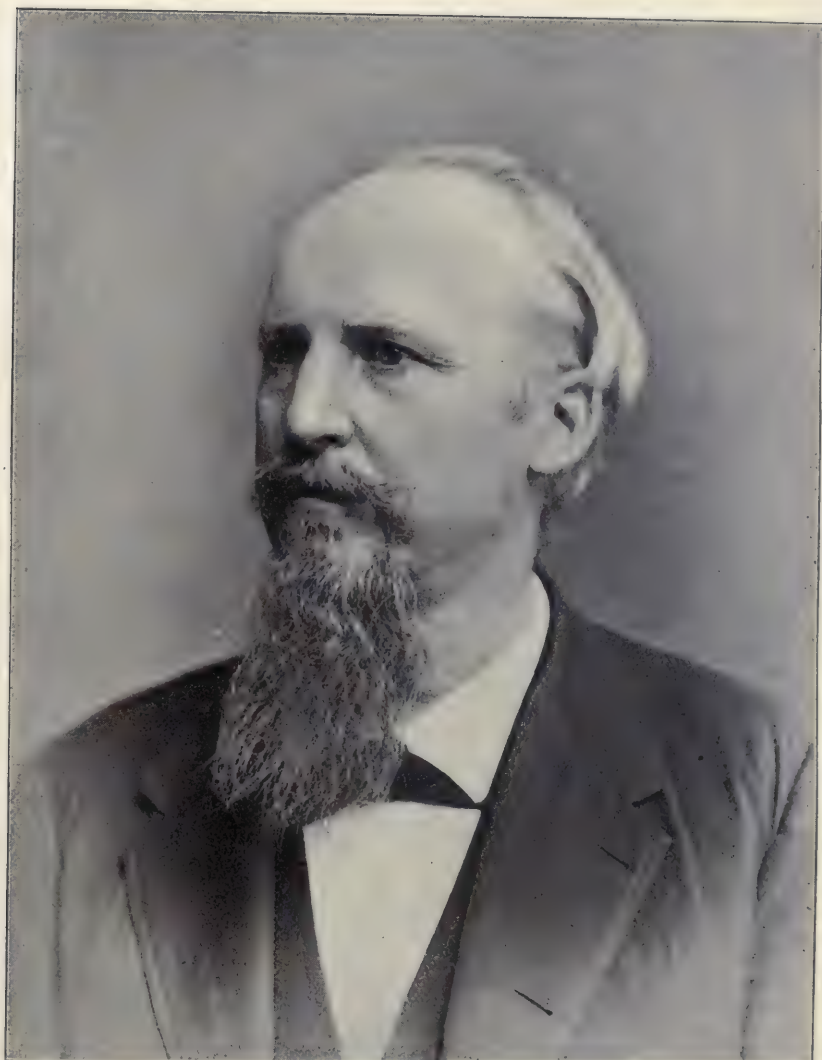
FRANCIS MARION COCKRELL

The distinguished Senator from Warrensburg, Missouri, is a Missourian by birth, having been born in Johnson County, October 1, 1834. He is almost the last of the famous group that was for years the chief part of American official life. There were Conkling, Blaine, Bayard, Thurman, Voorhees, Beck, Vest, Vance, Hamlin, Morrill, Ingalls and David Davis, most of them now dead, Ingalls out of politics, and Vest announcing his retirement at the expiration of his present term.

Francis Marion Cockrell received his early education in the common schools of the county in which he was born, and his collegiate instruction in Chapel Hill College, Lafayette County, Missouri. He graduated from that institution in July, 1853, and like so many others of our greatest public men is thus a product of what some lightly term "the cornfield college." These institutions with small material equipment and small endowment are scattered all over this broad land, training the minds of young men and women who would find the great and expensive institutions of more pretension quite out of their reach. With not many students to instruct, the professors are able to come close to them and teach them by contact and association to a degree that is not possible in the great seats of learning. From such a school as this, then, of the sort that is still doing so much for the cause of American education, young Cockrell graduated.

The young man decided to make the law his profession, and completing the necessary studies as rapidly as possible he was admitted to the bar and has pursued the career chosen consistently ever since. He had never held any office prior to his election to Congress. It is the proudest sort of a proof that he was an eminent lawyer of high standing in his State that he could thus be elected to the United States Senate without going through the preliminary steps that are so generally found necessary. There was no succession of State Legislature and other office for him. He was wanted at once for the higher office and he responded to the call.

Mr. Cockrell was elected to the Senate as a Democrat, with which party he had always identified himself, to succeed Carl Schurz, Independent Republican, taking his seat March 4, 1875. He was re-elected in 1881, 1887, 1893 and 1899, so that the end of his present term in 1905 will mark the close of thirty years of continuous service.



FRANCIS M. COCKRELL

MISSOURI

JOSEPH W. BAILEY

The Honorable Joseph W. Bailey of Texas, is one of the best-known members of the National House of Representatives, in which he has been recognized as one of the leaders of the Democratic party almost from the time of his entrance into Congress.

Mr. Bailey is a genuine and a typical Southerner, with all the admirable qualities that multiply under the Southern skies. He was born in Copiah County, Mississippi, October 6, 1863, when the War of the Rebellion was at its height, and, living the life of the young man of that region, he was educated in the neighborhood schools and academies, read law in an office near home, and was admitted to the bar in 1883 when but twenty years of age. The next year he entered national politics in the service of the Democratic party, with which his lot was cast, as a district elector on the Cleveland and Hendricks ticket, which was the winner in the national campaign of that year. Mississippi, though his native State, did not seem to the young lawyer to offer the opportunities for advancement and prosperity that might be found in a newer commonwealth. In 1885, therefore, Mr. Bailey removed to Texas, that largest of all our American States, with its romantic and inspiring history, its varied products, its great areas of fertile soil, and all the qualities that promise leadership in material affairs. To him Texas was opportunity, and to Texas he went.

The city of Gainesville is in the extreme northern part of the State, adjacent to the boundary of Indian Territory. It offered an excellent field for the practice of law and the entrance into politics. In both Mr. Bailey was highly successful. Identifying himself with his party he threw his energies into the campaigns that followed, and in 1888 was honored by being made one of the electors-at-large for the State to vote for Mr. Cleveland, who was that year defeated for re-election by Mr. Harrison. Mr. Bailey was elected to the Fifty-second Congress in 1890 as a member of the national House of Representatives, and has been re-elected in all successive elections since that time. At once taking a prominent position in the House, he has held it, and is one of the acknowledged leaders of his party. He is a member of the Ways and Means Committee and of the Committee on Rules.



JOSEPH W. BAILEY

TEXAS

BENJAMIN F. SHIVELEY

Benjamin F. Shiveley, of South Bend, Indiana, was born in St. Joseph County, Indiana, March 20, 1857. His early life was spent on a farm and he acquired the rudiments of his education in the common schools. He left the farm while still a mere youth, entered the Indiana Normal School at Valparaiso, and after a systematic course of study in that institution, he took up teaching, to which he devoted five years. In 1880 he settled in South Bend, where he was offered the editorship of the "Industrial Era," a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Greenback movement. In this way he got into politics, and went to Congress as the successor of W. H. Calkins, who resigned to campaign for the governorship. At that time Mr. Shiveley was only twenty-seven years old, and the youngest member of the House of Representatives.

At the end of his term Mr. Shiveley entered the Law School of the University of Michigan and graduated with the class of 1886. In the fall following his graduation, he was elected to Congress, this time for a full term. As a Congressman he served as a member of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. In the Fifty-first Congress he was a member of the Ways and Means Committee and was also a member of the Committee on Indian Depredation Claims.

Mr. Shiveley measures more than six feet in height, is a man of imposing physique, and has both a striking and a handsome countenance. He is a born orator, and is considered one of the most convincing and eloquent stump speakers in the State. Altogether Mr. Shiveley was elected to Congress four times by the people of his district. In 1892, which ended his last term as a representative from Indiana, he wrote an open letter to his constituents in which he announced that it was his intention to retire from public life and to accept no more nominations. The idol of the Democrats and the Greenback element as he was, Mr. Shiveley undoubtedly could have been re-elected by an increased majority if he had not persisted in his choice to remain in private life and continue his legal practice. In spite of repeatedly refusing nominations to office since that time, he has always been liberal with his services in the cause of Democracy and in every campaign has been in great demand as a stump speaker. His Indiana constituents consider him an ideal candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Mr. Bryan, and his name attracted favorable comment prior to the assembling of the Kansas City convention.



BENJAMIN F. SHIVELY
INDIANA

GEORGE FREDERICK WILLIAMS

The eminent Massachusetts Democrat, who is best known as George Fred. Williams, has been an interesting figure in American national politics for a number of years. He was born in 1831 in Germany, but was brought to America by his parents, who were both Germans, when but an infant. His father, who was a sailor, lost his life at sea when the boy was but ten years old, but left his family well provided for. In the panic of 1873 Mrs. Williams lost all her property, so that the young man had to complete his education by working his way through the schools he attended after that time. Mr. Williams is a highly-educated man, having studied at Dartmouth College, Heidelberg, Berlin and other European Universities. He got his law education with the money he saved from teaching school.

The home of the Williams family was at Dedham, Massachusetts, and, favorably known as he was there, young Williams soon had a good practice. At the time of the Bussey bridge disaster he settled many of the claims with the railway, and is said to have cleared \$25,000 in the cases resulting. Soon after his admission to the bar he began to interest himself in politics. Until 1884 he was a Republican, but left that party on the nomination of Blaine for the Presidency. He became a "Mugwump," was a member of the Independent Convention in New York that endorsed Grover Cleveland, and was prominent in the Massachusetts campaign which followed. He was elected to Congress, and in 1896, as the Democratic candidate for the governorship of Massachusetts, made a good fight against impossible odds.

As a speaker Mr. Williams has few superiors. He was an important factor in the Democratic National Convention of 1896, being particularly conspicuous as a pronounced advocate of free silver coinage in a region of the East where such advocates in high places were far from numerous. Ever since the election of President McKinley in 1896 Mr. Williams has devoted himself and all his energies to the cause of silver, in his home State and elsewhere, bringing to the work an indefatigability which never knows what it is to be tired. In the recent Democratic Convention in Kansas City he was no less prominent, being recognized as one of the intimate friends and personal representatives of Mr. Bryan.



GEORGE FRED WILLIAMS
MASSACHUSETTS

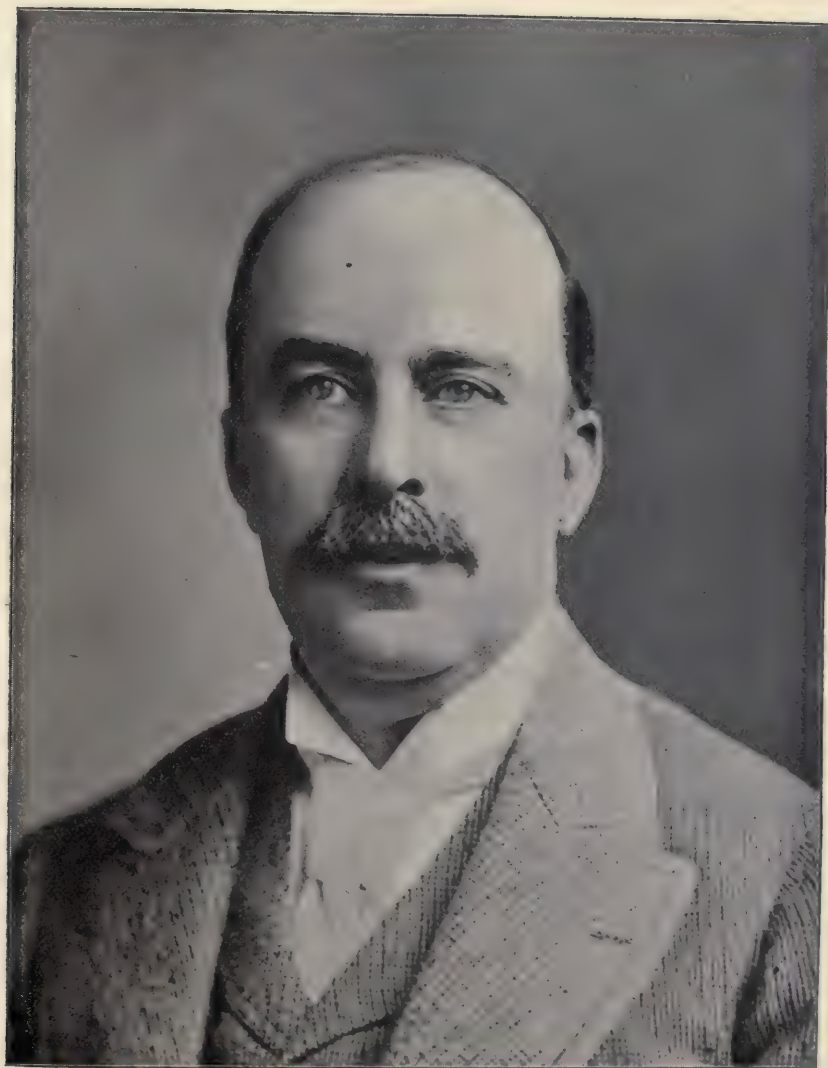
JOHN R. McLEAN

John R. McLean was born in Cincinnati, September 17, 1848. He was the ordinary public school boy, fond of athletics and ready at all times to protect himself. His prowess as a baseball player was widespread, and he did much to put the game on its present substantial footing, being a member of the famous Red Stocking team. Completing his education in the public schools, he went to Harvard College and thence to Germany, where he took up the study of foreign languages. Returning to Cincinnati, he took service under his father and his business partner, James J. Faran, in the office of the Cincinnati Enquirer. There was nothing of the fop about the boy, and when his father, Washington McLean, made him the office boy, he acquiesced in his decision, and performed all the menial duties assigned him. His father had old-fashioned ideas as to the bringing up of youth, and he exercised them in his son John's case to the fullest bent.

In 1873 his father sold him a half interest in the paper. He did not give it to him, as many fathers would have done. The far-seeing elder wanted to further inculcate business ideas into the young man's head. For eight years Mr. McLean worked and saved until he had discharged his obligations. In 1881 he purchased the interest of Mr. Faran and became sole owner of the Enquirer. Mr. McLean began his management of the paper by making himself thoroughly familiar with every branch of the business in his establishment. His first experience was with the publication department, of which he took the charge, and while conducting that, made himself acquainted with the composing, press, mailing and other departments.

Mr. McLean was among the first of large employers of labor to recognize workingmen's unions, and in every department of his plant none but members of such organizations are hired. Mr. McLean is an enthusiastic humanitarian and philanthropist, with a genuine sympathy for those who cannot help themselves and a hearty dislike for those who can help themselves but who will not.

In 1898 Mr. McLean was nominated for Governor of his State on the Democratic ticket, but after a heated contest was defeated. Of late years he has made his home in Washington.



JOHN R. McLEAN

OHIO

CARTER HENRY HARRISON

Carter H. Harrison, mayor of Chicago, was born April 30, 1860, in Chicago, Illinois. When he was thirteen years of age he and the other Harrison children went with their mother to Germany, where Carter and his brother entered the Heidelberg Gymnasium. For some reason the boys did not fancy Heidelberg over much, and after ten months' stay there the family traveled for a summer through Southern France, the Tyrol and Switzerland, after which the boys entered the gymnasium at Altenburg. Young Harrison spent three years there, and upon his return to Chicago entered the Jesuit College of St. Ignatius, from which he graduated in 1881 with honors. Thence he went to New Haven, where he took the course in the College of Law of Yale University and graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

After a brief season of travel he came back to Chicago, and began the practice of law, having been admitted to the bar as soon as he arrived. From that time on he was his father's legal adviser. In 1888 Mr. Harrison and his brother, William Preston Harrison, formed a partnership in the real estate business, in which they continued until Carter H. Harrison, senior, bought the Chicago Times. He placed his sons in charge of it, and during their administration it was raised from a declining state to become one of the leading journals of America. After his father's shocking death at the hands of an assassin in 1893, Mr. Harrison went abroad with his family and spent many months in traveling over Europe, Asia and Africa.

The public career of Mr. Harrison was resumed when, in the spring of 1897, he became a candidate for the mayoralty of Chicago, and was elected triumphantly as a Democrat, the second of his name to hold that high office. His term as Mayor was made noteworthy by the sturdy fight made by the public press and the people of Chicago against a succession of ordinances frankly denominated as "boodle" measures, in the interest of city franchise-holders. The struggle was carried into the State Legislature. In every effort the Mayor was recognized as the leader of the forces arrayed in the genuine interests of the city, and his influence in the city council was powerful in saving the day. In recognition of his work he was re-elected in April, 1899, by a largely increased majority. Only his refusal to be a candidate could have prevented his nomination for the Governorship of Illinois by his party, and he has been prominently mentioned as a possible candidate for the Vice-Presidency.



CARTER H. HARRISON
MAYOR OF CHICAGO

JOHN P. ALTGELD

John P. Altgeld was born in Germany in 1847, and came to the United States with his parents while yet a child. His father settled on a farm near Mansfield, O., where young Altgeld spent the early part of his life. At the age of sixteen years he joined the Union army and served in the ranks for six months around Richmond. After the war he taught school for a number of terms in Ohio. On arriving at the age of twenty-one he determined to look for fortune and reputation in the West, so he left Ohio and traveled across the southern part of Illinois on foot to St. Louis. When he reached that city he was without money. After a short stay in St. Louis, he concluded to push farther West and went to Southern Kansas, which at that time was enjoying a boom. Shortly after Mr. Altgeld's arrival, the boom broke, and finding no opening he again moved. This time he settled in the northwestern part of Missouri, where he taught school and studied law at the same time. In 1872 he was admitted to the bar and was appointed City Attorney for Savanna. He was afterward elected State's Attorney for Andrews county.

Feeling the need of a broader field, in 1875 Mr. Altgeld came to Chicago. He at once became interested in politics though he did not take an active part. As an attorney he rapidly built up a large practice. In 1884 he made his first appearance in politics, being nominated to Congress from the Fourth district. He made an aggressive campaign but was defeated. Two years later he was nominated for a superior court judgeship. His candidacy was indorsed by the labor organizations and he was successful at the election by a large majority.

In 1891 Judge Altgeld resigned his position on the bench, having made a notable success as a jurist, in order to attend to his private affairs which had grown to considerable magnitude. The next year, however, he was nominated by the Democrats of Illinois as their candidate for governor, and was elected to that high office by a plurality of nearly 23,000 over Joseph W. Fifer, his Republican opponent. He is remembered as one of the best governors Illinois ever had. Since his term as governor expired he has devoted himself to politics as a strong supporter of radical Democracy and is considered one of the ablest men in his party.



JOHN P. ALTGELD
EX-GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS

WILLIAM GOEBEL

William Goebel, late governor of Kentucky for the brief space of time that he lay upon his deathbed, after the assassin had struck him down, was born in Sullivan county, Penn., in 1858. His father was a native of Hanover, Germany, and came to this country, where he pursued his trade of cabinetmaker. William was the eldest son and when a mere boy he removed with his parents and brothers to Covington, Kentucky. After receiving a good education, he made the friendship of Gov. John W. Stephenson, who took him into his law office. In a few years he had shown such ability that Governor Stephenson took him as a law partner.

After the death of Gov. Stephenson, Mr. Goebel became the partner in his law business of John G. Carlisle, and for several years he remained with this great Kentucky lawyer. The young man entered politics and in 1887 was sent to the State Senate as a Democrat to represent Kenton county, and served continuously as such until his nomination for governor in 1899. That was the only public office he ever held, except that he was a member of the constitutional convention, where he served with marked ability. He was a candidate for judge of the court of appeals in his district. In the Senate he soon became the leader of his party. In 1896, from which time dates particularly his prominence in State politics, he became a member of the Democratic State Committee.

The exciting senatorial election of 1896, when J. C. S. Blackburn failed of re-election, brought Mr. Goebel out prominently as a director of political affairs. In a fight extending over two sessions Mr. Blackburn was defeated, a Republican being finally elected; but Mr. Goebel displayed astounding generalship throughout the contest. With Senator C. J. Bronston he managed the unseating of two Republican State senators. So much excitement accompanied the 1896 session that Gov. Bradley called out the State guard at the capitol. Mr. Goebel was the author of several important State laws, notably the Goebel election law, upon which hinged the contention that aroused the most terrible political storm that ever broke over Kentucky, and finally ended in the assassination of its originator.

Under the provisions of the Goebel law the election of Taylor was declared invalid and Goebel was declared successful. While the resulting litigation and controversy was in progress at Frankfort, Taylor held the office by the aid of militia. Under those circumstances came the assassination of Goebel, his deathbed inauguration and his death.



THE LATE WILLIAM GOEBEL
KENTUCKY

WHARTON BARKER

The political party which met in Cincinnati and nominated as its candidate for the presidency the Hon. Wharton Barker of Philadelphia is proud of the name which it bears—"The Middle-of-the-Road Populists." They refuse compromise or fusion with any other party except that party comes over to the Populist principles and adopts them as its own, in which event the recruits have a warm welcome.

Mr. Barker is a rich Philadelphia banker, and one of the rarities, a rich banker who is also a Populist and an enthusiastic silver man. A student of economic conditions and financial questions for many years, he has reached his conclusions by his logic and is firm in his convictions. He is not only a banker but an editor as well, having founded the Philadelphia American, of which he is still the head, in 1880. He is distinguished as a student, writer, financier, and commercial diplomat.

Wharton Barker was born in Philadelphia, May 1, 1846, and at the age of twenty years graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. While he was still in college in 1863 he commanded a company of colored soldiers and helped to enlist and organize the Third United States Colored Regiment. Becoming a member of the banking firm of Barker Brothers & Co., he was appointed in 1878 financial agent in the United States of the Russian government and was entrusted with the building of four cruisers for the Russian navy. Alexander II. was so highly pleased with Mr. Barker's work that he conferred upon him the Order of St. Stanislaus, an honor rarely given to a foreigner. A contract was offered him by the Emperor of Russia involving \$15,000,000, to develop the iron resources of southern Russia, but the Czar died before the work was begun. In 1887 he secured valuable railroad, telephone and telegraph concessions in China.

Mr. Barker founded the Investment Company of Philadelphia and the Finance Company of Pennsylvania. The Penn Monthly, which he established in 1869 was afterwards merged into the Weekly American, which he still owns and edits. He was a prominent Republican until 1896, being a warm supporter of Presidents Garfield and Harrison, but left that party in 1896 on the silver issue. A member of many scientific and educational societies, author of standard works on finance and coinage and student of affairs, Mr. Barker is one of the best types of the active American gentleman.



WHARTON BARKER
PENNSYLVANIA

IGNATIUS DONNELLY

Ignatius Donnelly, orator, statesman and litterateur, was born in Philadelphia, November 4, 1831. Removing westward, he settled in Minnesota, where he became a well and honorably known influential citizen of the State. He has long been connected with its public and private affairs, his political record showing him capable of filling the highest positions. Formerly a Republican, he drifted into the Democratic ranks, and finally associated himself with the Farmers' Alliance. During the Civil war he was Governor of Minnesota, and later was Lieutenant-Governor for four years. He served in the State Senate for five years, and afterward represented his district in the house of representatives for six years.

Mr. Donnelly has made himself famous in connection with the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, being an enthusiastic advocate of the Baconian theory. The doubt raised some forty years ago with respect to the authorship of the Shakesperian plays and the belief that these are the productions of Lord Bacon, have both been thoroughly treated. More than one hundred books and pamphlets denying the authorship of Shakespeare have already been published. Therefore it is an arduous task for any one to make any new literary discoveries in regard to the matter, as Mr. Donnelly has done, claiming to have found the mystic cipher which settles the question of authorship. By this remarkable cipher he declares that the plays contain Bacon's direct statement that he wrote them. Mr. Donnelly's work attracted wide attention, but few Shakespearean critics accepted the conclusions of it except those who were already adherents of the theory. He is the author of other notable books of high literary quality. "Atlantis" and "Ragnarok," a tale of the age of fire, being the most famous. "The Golden Battle," a more recent work, is a result of his political views, and tells in the form of fiction something of the theories of its writer.

In 1892 Governor Donnelly was named by the People's party as their candidate for the Presidency. In 1900 he was nominated at Cincinnati as the candidate for the Vice-Presidency by the party popularly known as the "Middle-of-the-Road Populists," those objecting to fusion with the Democrats, Wharton Barker of Philadelphia being the nominee for the Presidency on the same ticket.



IGNATIUS DONNELLY
MINNESOTA

WILLIAM VINCENT ALLEN

William Vincent Allen, of Madison, was born in Midway, Madison county, Ohio, January 28, 1847. In 1856 he removed with his family to Iowa, and at the age of fifteen years enlisted with Company G, Thirty-second Iowa Infantry, in the war of the rebellion. He carried a musket for three years, the last five months of his service being on the staff of General James I. Gilbert. He was educated in the common schools of Iowa and attended the Upper Iowa University at Fayette for a time, but did not graduate. He studied law with L. L. Ainsworth of West Union, Iowa, and was admitted to the bar May 31, 1869. He practiced law in Iowa until 1884, when he removed to Nebraska.

Senator Allen's conversion to the Populist view of politics occurred during the campaign of 1890, and since that time he has been enthusiastic and constant in the advocacy of the party's principles. In the fall of 1891 he was nominated by the Populists for Judge of the Ninth Judicial district and was elected. He was permanent president of the Nebraska Populist State convention in 1892 and was elected United States Senator to succeed Algernon Sidney Paddock, February 7, 1893, for the full term of six years, beginning March 4, 1893. Previous to his going over to the Populists he was an enthusiastic Republican, and was a member of the State convention of 1890. He took an earnest and active part in that famous campaign, stumping the State for his party ticket and doing splendid work for it.

Judge Allen is an enthusiastic Grand Army man, and on every possible occasion gives evidence of his love for the old soldiers, taking prominent part in the State and district encampments. He is a giant in stature and it is said his mental caliber is consistent with his physical make-up. Judge Allen is an enthusiastic believer in the doctrines of the People's party and an uncompromising advocate of the State ownership and control of railroads, telegraph lines and all means of transportation and communication. He is an out and out free-trader and an advocate of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. In the campaign of 1896 he was one of the most effective and earnest of Mr. Bryan's supporters, and he never spares his energies in support of his principles.



WILLIAM V. ALLEN
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NEBRASKA

CHAPTER II.

THE DEMOCRACY IN HISTORY

The history of the Democracy is the history of the Republic. It had its origin as soon after the formation of the thirteen colonies as the people came to a realization of their rights as individuals. Mr. Jefferson, the founder of the party, came from aristocratic surroundings, but his sympathies from the beginning were with the "common people." His brain conceived and his hand wrote the Declaration of Independence, altogether the most notable document of its kind that ever came from human hands. Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, who has made the most careful examination of the literature of that period, says in his *History of American Literature* that this product from the pen of the first great Democrat has been more extensively quoted in all languages and in all races than any other. It has been the universal voice for all peoples asserting their independence against the oppression of an alien race. In South America, in Greece, in the far East, it has been quoted word for word. Americans accustomed to the cheap oratory of "patriot" declaimers are apt to forget the significance of this fact, which, however, remains as the most splendid instance of American patriotic literature, never to be forgotten; never to be belittled.

It has been remarked of Mr. Jefferson, and truly, that while other charters of liberty proclaim the liberties of a single people, his great pronouncement deals with the liberties of the human race. We find an explanation of this in the fact that for several years after he wrote the Declaration of Independence Mr. Jefferson lived in Paris, in the immediate vortex of the great events which constituted the French Revolution. There he was an immediate witness of those facts which Thomas Carlyle has made immortal in his *History*. Other patriots have dealt with the rights of their own people. "We declare," says Mr. Jefferson, "the equality of all mankind." That was his theme. It was that which alienated him from the people of his own class and placed him upon the pedestal belonging exclusively to the great champions of human liberty the world over. De Tocqueville said, thirty years after

Mr. Jefferson's death: "The people of this Republic will maintain the full dignity of their institutions so long as they preserve the ideals which their founders have established." The French statesman, like the Virginian, was an aristocrat by birth, but he had learned by the study of human history, as Jefferson had learned, that all men were created equal. He was quick to perceive that this was the basic fact of the then new republic.

Jefferson was the champion of the Democracy. The fact and the word come down to us in these times as truisms, but as it has been remarked the truths of one age become the truisms of the next. Thomas Jefferson belonged to the race of men which creates truism. Democracy, etymologically as well as historically, means the government of the people—*demos* and *krateo*. Such a meaning necessarily implies a division of society into classes, each with a sort of stability. The sovereignty originally resided in one of these classes, which naturally was a select class of the rich and favored. Jefferson was one of the first to grasp the fact that this sovereignty which had been arrogated to the few belonged of right to the many. He was and always will be remembered as the champion of the people. His favorite maxim was, "I trust the common people; their judgment is never in error in respect of principles involving their own rights." It is well in the light of recent events to remember that this great statement of human rights was in all cases and at all stages of his momentous career recalled with pleasure by the President who assisted at the foundation of the Republican party but from whose tenets the party has so far departed—Abraham Lincoln.

The Democracy of modern times has not and could not have the same meaning as that of antiquity. But it is none the less true that the very notion of Democracy differs profoundly from that which the ancients formed of it and that it no longer responds to the same ideas or expresses exactly the same facts. It may be said without irreverence that the Christ was the first democrat of history. Modern nations were formed under the influence of his teachings and man, according to the conception which has prevailed for nearly twenty centuries, has been following, blindly it may be, but none the less implicitly, the doctrines which He pronounced as the foundation of the new era. According to Christianity, it is man as such that has the greatest value.

This is the fundamental of the democratic doctrine. All the children

of God, the entire brotherhood of man, belong to the same family and have equal rights. These doctrines which we now accept as truisms were considered anarchical, heretical one hundred years ago. It required the moral courage of a Montesquieu or a Voltaire, or a Paine or a Jefferson to declare them in the fervid light which was evoked by the events of the last century.

These general principles found full scope for their application to the immediate affairs of human kind amidst the events that signalized the foundation of the republic. There was no differentiation of parties, as we know them, until after the thirteen colonies had separated themselves from the parent monarchy. It was then that the wise hand and great brain of the founder of the Democratic party came to the front to shape the Declaration of the new republic. The distinction between Whig and Tory had previously been well defined in the Old Country. On this side of the Atlantic it soon took shape as a line of demarcation between those who adhered to the old theory of monarchical government and the new doctrine of popular rights and popular government. Mr. Jefferson, whom it is the happy heritage of the democracy to have followed in all his pronouncements upon this great subject, was one of the first to outline the principles of the democracy. One says "new democracy" with something like reverence for the daring, the mental audacity of the man who in that environment was strong enough to stand forth and proclaim the rights of the "common people." According to the pronouncements of Lord North and the Tories of King George III, who at that time represented the consensus of aristocratic opinion, the common people had no rights and it remained for Jefferson and his associates to assert them; at what a cost to their social and political position we can only imagine.

It is perhaps sufficient for this purpose to record that Mr. Jefferson's most notable pronouncement in 1776 was the occasion of a universal reversion from the accepted ideas of that time to those which we now receive as the fundamentals of our liberties. The Tory party has become a historical reminiscence. It was abolished at the close of the War of the Revolution when the triumphant Whigs confiscated the estates of its more active members and compelled them to leave the boundaries of the colonies. Some of them found refuge in Europe, but not a few crossed the northern line into the loyal Dominion of Canada and there some of their descendants are to be found to this day foment-

ing the cause of monarchy and with the assistance of Mr. McKinley's Secretary of State maintaining even at this late date the rights of the select few as against the rights of the democracy. These are among the sequences of history to which the philosopher turns with instruction and sometimes with amusement.

Mr. Jefferson was in Europe when the confederacy was formed between the thirteen colonies. As has been said, he was at this critical period of his life associated with the great champions of human liberty who have given to the world the immortal document of that period. The value of these lessons is to be seen in his later works.

But before the end of the year 1776 most of the colonies, now the states, had settled their forms of individual government. It is one of the truisms of American constitutional history, which, however, can not be too often reiterated, that the fundamental principle of this confederation consisted in this single fact: that such rights as are expressly given to the Federal Government are its own and that all others belong as a matter of course to the individual states. The Supreme Court has now and again reasserted this important principle, but Americans, especially in the present tide of federalistic tendencies, are too apt to forget it, and to arrogate to the central power at Washington functions which the founders of the Republic expressly reserve to themselves as members of the constitutional colonies or states. If the Governor of Idaho had recalled this fact; if he and his associates in the mad rush of federalistic assertion which he maintained during the affairs at the Coeur d'Alene had remembered the fundamentals of American liberty as they were asserted by the founders of the Republic it is scarcely to be believed that such outrages as have been recently perpetrated in that far-away Western State could have found the justification which he has since had the temerity to put forward in the name of law and the constitution. It is scarcely possible to believe that if the President of the United States had been mindful of those precepts of liberty upon which his office was based, he would have given the name and authority of his great office to these same outrages. It is always safe, but it is seldom convenient, for the apostles of the new imperialism to hark back to the familiar but always true doctrines upon which the Republic was founded.

This is not a history of the Democracy. That chapter in the record of our liberty is to be found only upon the pages which record the peren-

nial, the unceasing and the undaunted struggle of the common people against those who from the beginning have sought to abridge their liberty and restrain their powers. It is perhaps enough even to glance at the period during which these high principles were established upon their present high pedestal. Americans of this generation look back with amazement to the time when such respectable and respected leaders as Hamilton and Quincy Adams asserted their distrust in the wisdom and discretion of the common people. That was the basis of the Federalistic policy. Hamilton did not hesitate to assert it. Himself of doubtful foreign origin, born and perhaps bred in the atmosphere of monarchy, he was bold and unreserved in his assertions that no safety was to be found in the consensus of public opinion. Like Jefferson he had studied the Revolution of France. But unlike the founder of the Democracy, he had failed to derive therefrom the principles upon which we have since reared the fabric of our liberty. There arose, and especially in the select colonies upon the James river, and in New England, a coterie of men undoubtedly honest, though as we see them now, undoubtedly wrong, who felt and said that government was a function belonging to the few, the educated, the rich, the aristocratic, the conservative, the select.

It was against this class that Jefferson, himself a member, fought the great battles of his life. He never doubted and he never permitted others to doubt the supreme wisdom and the supreme authority of the "common people."

This doctrine was bequeathed in its entirety upon his death to that other great champion of the Democracy, Andrew Jackson, who came into his heritage as the leader of the people in the first quarter of the present century.

Mr. Jackson was maligned with the same fervor of hatred and the same indiscriminating denunciation that has more recently been visited upon a more recent champion of the Democracy who is now placed before the people as their champion against the assertions of the aristocratic class. Mr. Jackson, like Mr. Bryan, was a child of the people. He came of respectable but not of aristocratic parentage. The traditions of his family, like those of "Old Hickory" himself, were pious but not puritanical. Early in his life he found himself arraigned against the select few. His sympathies were on the other side. He was and is forever remembered as the friend of the people.

When he took his stand against the national bank and all the privileges which that institution entailed, he was denounced, as Mr. Bryan has been denounced, as an anarchist, a theorist and a "crank." Such has ever been the refuge of the plutocracy when oppressed with the exigency of unanswerable argument. Such were the pleas arraigned against Lincoln in his time—Lincoln the rail-splitter, Lincoln the "common man," Lincoln the representative of the "plain people," Lincoln the democrat. They have no greater force, and no less, against Mr. Bryan in the full tide of his young manhood than they had against the splendid democracy of Lincoln in 1860 or of Andrew Jackson the hobnailed Tennessean of two generations ago.

All three stand out in history and are to be remembered in this connection for this single fact, that they dared to defy select opinion and to renounce time-honored traditions; to embrace at once the infamy and the glory of being the champions of the people.

The difference between the two sections of our population were well defined by Jefferson in his time and his definition may be accepted in its full force at this day. Jefferson asserted of the public debt in his time "That the public owed it and the North owned it." In this fundamental may be found the basis of the present difference between the two classes.

The Democracy held undisputed sway in the government almost without interruption until the outbreak of the Civil War. That struggle was another conflict between the masses and the classes in which the South by reason of its traditional affiliations for State supremacy was found upon the losing side. The South lost. But its loss was more than redeemed by the events which gave to the history of the Republic that great figure now falsely claimed by the Republican party as its own, who stands and must forever stand in the front rank of the great proponents of Democracy—Abraham Lincoln.

Only a fanatic devotee of the new imperialism will make bold to assert that this man, himself of the common people and by every act and every word of his great career a champion of their rights, is identified by word or deed with the party which now holds the reins of power and which dares to assert the supremacy of the few over the many. Mr. Lincoln was a great Democrat. He was a Democrat in the same sense that has given that distinction to Jefferson and to Jackson. His public career, one of the greatest in the records of our Republic, rested in its

supremacy upon the assertion that the people are the only and original force from which government is derived. Himself a product of the meanest conditions, he arose early in his public life to a full appreciation of the supreme doctrine that there is no law except that which the people decree. His homely sayings, now familiarly quoted by all lovers of popular government, all tend in this direction. It is perhaps the greatest heresy of our times that these sayings so right, so pregnant of the principles of Democracy, should be cited by the degenerate sons of his party in defense of their undemocratic, their federalistic, their aristocratic breaches of the constitution. These sayings, like their great author, belong to the Democratic party.

The forty years following Mr. Lincoln's death need no characterization here. They have constituted from their inception a carnival of crime, perpetrated in the name of liberty against the liberties of the American people. In that unhappy struggle which arrayed the States against each other was born the spirit of imperialism, and imperialism begot the new plutocracy. The fever of false patriotism succeeding the surrender at Appomattox has been the excuse for more crimes against the constitution than ever were perpetrated in any period of our history or, God willing, ever will be perpetrated again. A quarter of a century ago, this riot of lawlessness reached its climax in the crime which unseated a President, chosen by an indignant people in protest against the lawlessness of that time. To this high-handed act the Democracy, ever careful of the law and the forms of law, submitted rather than provoked a fresh struggle. But the sense of that outrage has survived unto the present time. It was keenly alive four years ago when the organized forces of plutocracy again came to the front to thwart the will of the people.

This was a critical time for American liberty. The Democracy found itself arrayed not only against its open foes, but against the more insidious but not less dangerous traitors within its own house. Twenty years of shameless equivocation upon the all-important doctrine of the currency had sufficed to align the American people on one or the other side of this great question: Whether the people should own and control their own money, or delegate that great function to a small but arrogant coterie of bankers. This is the so-called "silver question" of 1896. It had this significant effect: It drove from the ranks of the Democracy all its false friends. It made the plutocrats, the monopolists

and the friends of monopoly avow themselves for what they were. It also gave to the American people the regenerated Democracy of which Mr. Bryan was then and is still the head. It rallied to the standards of popular liberty all those who hated and still hate class legislation, favoritism in government and the discrimination of the law in favor of the few against the many.

One does not hesitate to reiterate these familiar terms because they are the original and fundamental precepts of our governmental existence. They cannot be repeated too often. They find their expression in the platform of the party which convened at Kansas City in July. Their antithesis is asserted with cynical frankness in the declaration which brazenly chose Philadelphia as the place for the convention of the plutocratic forces.

The Democracy has never hesitated and it does not now hesitate to come before the people upon such an issue. Now as in Jefferson's time, as in the time of Jackson, as in the time of Lincoln, it is the many against the few, the "plain people" against the plutocracy. The issue cannot be in doubt.

CHAPTER III.

BEGINNINGS OF IMPERIALISM

The war with Spain created a new issue of paramount importance to the liberties of the people and the integrity of the republic.

That conflict, begun upon the pretext of relieving the patriots of Cuba from Spanish oppression, long ago degenerated into an effort to continue Spanish oppression against the patriots of the Philippines.

This change of front has been accomplished with startling rapidity. The condition of Cuba four years ago was such as to move the sympathy of all humane people, and the Chicago platform voiced this sentiment when it said :

"We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence."

No other sentiment was then entertained within the republic. The declaration of war against Spain was adopted by the Congress, April 18, 1898. It set forth the policy of this government at that time in these words :

"First, that the people of the Island of Cuba, are and of right ought to be free and independent.

"Second, that it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

"Third, that the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

"Fourth, that the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said islands, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

This resolution clearly and forcibly expresses the principle of the Declaration of Independence: "These united colonies," declared the fathers of the republic, "are and of right ought to be free and independent States." "The people of the island of Cuba," the Congress declared, "are and of right ought to be free and independent."

This declaration of war, moreover, demands that the Cubans shall be free and govern themselves on the ground of right, exactly as the fathers demanded freedom for the people of these United States. In these respects the attitude of our government towards Spain at the opening of hostilities was unique in the history of war. Under the old regime it had been the practice to wage war either for or against aggression without regard to principle involved. It well became the great republic of the west to rise to a higher plane, and to take up arms, if needs must, solely for "humanity's sake."

This was the spirit of President McKinley's message to the Congress delivered in April, 1898, in which he explicitly defined the position of this government in the war in these words:

"In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are either unable or unwilling to stop or litigate."

As lately as October, 1898, at the Peace Jubilee at Chicago, President McKinley, the war being then at an end, said:

"The war with Spain was undertaken, not that the United States should increase its territory, but that the oppression at our doors should be stopped. This noble sentiment must continue to animate us, and we must give to the world a full demonstration of the sincerity of our purpose."

In his message to Congress of December 6, 1897, the President had said even more forcibly: "Of the untried measures there remain only recognition of the insurgents as belligerents, recognition of the independence of Cuba, neutral intervention to end the war by imposing a rational compromise between the contestants. I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That by our code of morality would be criminal aggression."

The code of morality of which the President speaks is happily well defined in the authentic documents recording the history of liberty and self-government in this republic. In the Declaration of Independence it is written that: "Governments derive their just powers from the consent

of the governed," and that these United States "have full power to do all acts and things which independent States may of right do."

President McKinley thus in his own words framed an indictment of the subsequent policy of his administration. His entire course has been one of "criminal aggression," not only against the late subjects of Spain, but against the American people, their liberties and their best traditions. The Democracy holds the latter to be by far the greater offense.

Having won an easy victory at arms over a decrepit monarchy, the administration, at the commission in Paris, concluded a bargain whereby this nation acquired Spain's rotten title to her island possessions. Porto Rico, which had offered no resistance to our arms, gladly came to our standard, confiding in our explicit promises of full fellowship in the republic. Cuba became an unwilling McKinley satrapy, and so remains, upon terms which bode no good for the Cuban liberties in whose interest the war was avowedly undertaken.

The Paris bargain was, and is, utterly hateful to the people of the United States. The Democracy believes that Spain had no valid title to the Philippines. The people of those islands whose intelligence, bravery and patriotism had enabled them for centuries to resist Spanish aggression, stood at the outset of our war in a position entirely analogous to that of the American colonists when they declared their independence of England. If at that juncture France, for example, had paid to Great Britain twenty million dollars for the British interests in the colonies, the title passed would have been of equal value with our title to the Philippines—and no more. And the treatment of the invaders under such nefarious bargain by the fathers of this republic would have been exactly that which the "little brown men" in the far East have accorded to our armies. They are fighting as the Revolutionary fathers would have fought, to the death, to extermination, rather than acquiesce in the barter of their liberty.

Yet it is in defense of this shameless bargain that the armies of the United States have been waging a costly war for eighteen months. Even now, after vast expenditure of blood and treasure, there is no prospect of an end. The American people long since ceased to give credence to the inspired reports of administration agents that the "war is over," "all resistance is at an end." Another rainy season impends, bringing with it another indefinite postponement of peace. There is no reason to doubt

that under the present policy these eighteen months might be extended to as many years.

The Democratic party holds this whole conflict to have been useless, cruel and inexpressibly wicked; undertaken without lawful excuse, in defiance of the express promises of the President, not to employ our arms for the criminal extension of our territory; in contravention of all the precepts upon which the liberties of the American people rest.

The Democracy believes, moreover, that whatever may have been the motives of the administration at the beginning of the war, they have now sunk to the level of a deliberate and consistent effort to set might above right, not only in the Philippines, but in the United States as well; to fasten upon the republic a large and increasing standing army, enlisted in the unholy cause of subjecting the common people and holding them in subjection to the organized forces of capitalism and its twin evil, imperialism.

And herein, beyond a doubt, the Democracy has the entire sympathy and support of many thousands of virtuous and intelligent citizens hitherto loyal to the President and his party. Some of the most eloquent denunciations of the imperialistic policy have come from the lips of Republican leaders of approved standing in Republican councils. Some of these, like the venerable Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, assisted the foundation of their party and have measured their loyalty to its interests by lifelong devotion. Yet it was Senator Hoar who wrote in a recent letter to the Hon. George F. Edmunds, a former senator in Congress, also a Republican of the highest standing:

"If we had dealt with the people of the Philippine Islands as we undertook to deal with the people of Cuba, who we declared—and they certainly had no better title—of right ought to be free and independent; if instead of undertaking to butt them and then undertaking to subject them by force, we had assured them of our purpose to respect their rights; to protect them against foreign interference; to aid them to restore order and to leave them whenever they should desire to the blessing of freedom and self-government—we should have had no war; we should have had no loss of life; we should have had no large expenditure of money; we should not have trampled on the doctrines upon which our institutions are founded; we should not have contradicted the pledges of our fathers; we should not have dishonored our own great history; we should not have incurred the undying hatred of the people of the Philippine Islands; we

should have received from their gratitude everything in the way of commercial advantage, of military or naval station that their gratitude could bestow; we should have the glory—with which the glory of no other country in history would be compared—of being the great liberator in both hemispheres.”

Similar sentiments Senator Hoar has more than once expressed with equal force upon the floor of the United States Senate. True, the Senator saw fit since to surrender his convictions to what in an excess of party loyalty he is pleased to regard as a “higher necessity;” but the majority of his party associates who share his opinions on imperialism have no high official position at stake and will vote as they think. A former United States senator, hitherto of equal loyalty to the party of McKinley and Hoar, has lately canvassed the opinions of his associates on the subject of the President’s Philippine policy and makes this interesting report:

“The anti-imperialists are not thoroughly organized as a distinctive political party as yet. They have had some hope that the Republicans would consent to abandon the policy of imperialism and that the newly acquired territories would be treated as territories had been treated by us for the past hundred years. They believe that such a policy would not have been attended with that disgraceful war now pending in the Philippines. They conscientiously think that Mr. McKinley’s unfortunate proclamation of December, 1898, taking forcible military possession of the entire islands four months before the ratification of the treaty with Spain, and four months before any lawful justification for such action, was the original and prime cause of a war which has already dragged along its cruel, heartless and bloody course for fifteen months.

“If the opponents of this wretched policy could see a probable termination of this useless, but costly strife, costly in treasure, in human life, in national honor and in public and private morals, I am sure they would be glad to retain their old party associations. Of this, it must be regretted, there is but little present hope. If the past two years of vicious policies had not already passed into history, it is quite likely that history’s page would be far more creditable, more profitable and more honorable to our cherished nation. If these years had to be lived again, the Philippine war would not exist, leaving as it does the stain of ambition, aggression, avarice, greed, ingratitude, treachery, cruelty and despotism.”

The Anti-Imperialist League, a numerous non-partisan organization embracing in its membership many of the most learned, most patriotic

and bravest of our citizens, has sprung out of this popular protest against the imperialistic policy of the administration. At a national conference held at Chicago in October, 1899, the League formulated an address to the American people, which may be quoted in part in this connection, if only because it is a reasonable embodiment of the sentiments which the Democracy has entertained upon this subject from the beginning:

"We regret," the League declares, "that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln, to reaffirm that all men of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. * * * We insist that the subjugation of any people is 'criminal aggression,' and open disloyalty to the principles of our government. We deplore the sacrifice of our soldiers and sailors, whose bravery deserves admiration, even in an unjust war. We denounce the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror. We demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty begun by Spain and continued by us. * * * The United States has always protested against the doctrine which permits the subjugation of the weak by the strong. A self-governing state cannot accept sovereignty over an unwilling people. The United States cannot act upon the ancient heresy which makes might right. * * * Much as we abhor the war of criminal aggression in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home. The real firing line is not in the suburbs of Manila. The enemy is of our own household. The attempt of 1899 is to destroy its fundamental principles and noblest ideals. Whether the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos shall end next month or next year is but an incident in a contest that must go on until the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States are rescued from the hands of their betrayers."

And the address concludes with this significant intimation as to the future political attitude of all those who share the Democratic belief that the McKinley administration is irrevocably committed to imperialism and "criminal aggression:"

"We purpose to contribute to the defeat of any person or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people. We shall oppose for re-election all who in the White House, or in Congress, betray American liberty in pursuit of un-American ends.

The manner in which the war has been conducted gives color to all these apprehensions on the part of conscientious Republicans, and fully

justifies all the indictments which the Democracy has framed against that unholy struggle. From the beginning, intimidation, force and fraud have been the key notes of the administration policy. The ratification of the treaty with Spain in the United States Senate was procured only by threats and misrepresentations proceeding from the White House itself. But four months before that act was consummated the administration showed the cloven hoof of imperialism when the President, by official proclamation and in defiance of all the equities involved, declared the sovereignty of the United States to extend over the entire territory of the Philippine Islands. By that time, there is no reason to doubt, the administration had received instructions from the same source upon which its managers drew so heavily for financial support in the campaign of 1896. Wall street, for its own purposes, demanded a war, and the demands of Wall street were not to be ignored.

The indignant protests which this act evoked from the more thoughtful members of the administration party and from the whole body of the Democracy, are still remembered. Nor is it forgotten in what manner these protests were met by a government already far advanced in its headlong career after imperialistic power. Patriots who dared to raise their voice in remonstrance against the employment of a United States army to subdue a free people upon their own soil, were branded as "copperheads" and "traitors," and subjected to the unstinted abuse of a complacent administration press. The sanctity of the mail was violated to stop the current of patriot literature and to intercept the protests and just complaints sent to and from our deceived and discontented soldiers in the Philippines. No such misuse of the executive function had ever before occurred in the republic. Yet as we have since seen, this was but the beginning of the administration's deliberate policy to suppress the freedom of speech whenever it conflicted with the interests of capitalism and imperialism.

On the immediate scene of the war in the Philippines a ruthless censorship has been maintained over the newspaper correspondents with scarcely a pretense that this policy of repression was not in the interests of the administration and the re-election of McKinley, rather than for military necessities. A correspondent of the Associated Press, who spent many months in the field, has given this testimony of his own and his colleagues' experiences with a McKinley censor:

"The entire American Press were made the organ of Otis. We were

compelled to send nothing but the official news of all events and conditions, even when the official view controverted the opinion of the great mass of the officers in the field, and was a falsification of events which had passed before our eyes. In this way every fight became a glorious American victory, even though every one in the army knew it to have been substantially a failure, and we were drilled in the writing quite mechanically, wholly ridiculous estimates of the number of Filipinos killed, knowing that if we wrote any other description, our work would be wholly wasted."

And the correspondent adds:

"Gen. Otis did not contradict our statements that the purpose of the censorship was to keep facts from the public, but said that what we wanted was to have the people stirred up and make a sensation for the papers. We told him that he should be exceedingly grateful to the papers for handling the war so temperately. Davis and Bass told him they had personally seen our soldiers bayoneting wounded Filipinos and reminded him that the cutting off of the ears of two American soldiers at Das Marinas had been merely retaliation for similar mutilations of dead Filipinos by Americans. No one could possibly tell stronger stories of the looting and blackmailing by our soldiers than Otis has told, though he charges them all to volunteers. * * * Recently I filed what I thought a most inoffensive statement, that the business men who had appeared before the commission had advocated the retention of the existing silver system of currency. The censor said 'I ought not to let that go. That would be a lift for Bryan. My instructions are to shut off anything that would hurt McKinley's administration.' I explained the silver system here, and with seeming reluctance he O-K'd the item."

Only a bad cause needed to be hedged about with such defenses against publicity. The administration at Washington has exhausted all the methods of militarism to shield its conduct from the popular eye, but, as always, the truth has finally come to light. From a mass of uncensored testimony as to the true condition of the Philippines, at this time, when the administration has officially declared the islands to be pacified, a letter from Mr. George Ade, mailed at Hong Kong, April 21, may be chosen to show how far duplicity has gone to cover official incapacity and administrative baseness. Mr. Ade is an author and newspaper correspondent of the highest respectability. He spent a month in the Philippines, searching only for the truth. He says:

"If the Philippine Islands are 'pacified,' then we must concede a new meaning to the word 'pacified.' A Tagalo who is dodging around in the jungle taking an occasional wild shot at you is not 'pacified.' He may be 'rattled,' he may be afraid of you and lack the indiscreet courage to come out in the open and be killed in orthodox fashion, but as long as he has the gun and is animated by the desire to shoot you—no, not 'pacified.'

"There are about 240 garrisons in the Philippine Islands, each of which has succeeded in cowing the region bounded by its outposts. The natives behave themselves while they are in the immediate presence of American soldiers with loaded guns. But it is not advisable for any white man to wander beyond the outposts of a garrison, especially if he is unarmed. He is in danger of being shot from ambush or set upon and болоed. Any traveler who wishes to go from one garrison to another must be accompanied by a guard of soldiers. The railway from Manila to Dagupan is being operated, but there is a heavy garrison in every town and a night and a day guard at every bridge. Wagon and pack trains are fired on from ambush every day.

"It is true that the insurgent armies have been scattered, that many of the leaders of the insurrection are now under surveillance in Manila, that Aguinaldo has been chased into a remote hiding place, and that the reorganization and mobilization of a large army seems practically impossible. On the other hand, it is true that the spirit of rebellion is still active and that the insurgents continue a pestering and plundering campaign in small bodies that cannot be trapped into battle.

"In the official reports the insurgents who continue to harass the Americans are called robbers or 'ladrones.' The so-called 'ladrones' are simply the same old insurrectos, who are operating in small bodies because they have learned that they are not competent to fight on the European plan. They have become guerrillas that they may avoid being slaughtered and also make more trouble for the Americans. From their standpoint they have done a wise thing. From our point of view it would be much better if they would make a stand-up fight and die like civilized warriors. It would simplify matters.

"There is much testimony to the effect that these small bands commit depredations on natives and Chinamen as well as on Americans, and that they prefer a roving life of brigandage to a quiet agricultural career in a nipa shack; but the fact remains that the primary object of their organization is to kill American soldiers and continue the struggle for

Filipino independence. So you may call them 'ladrones,' robbers, bandits or anything else you choose, without materially changing their attitude toward American rule.

"It is commonly believed in Manila that the Filipino republic retains an organization, necessarily sub-rosa in many sections, that taxes are still collected and that the operations of the guerrilla bands are directed by the leaders, who are now assembled in Manila, enjoying the leniency of the United States government. Nearly everyone to whom I spoke was frankly of the opinion that the Filipino leaders had come into Manila and put themselves on parole so as to get together for a conference and reorganization. No one believes that they have really chosen to accept American rule without further protest.

"Although the present fighting is carried on by small bands, it does not follow, as most people at home seem to believe, that these bands are independent of each other and represent so many irresponsible private enterprises. Colonel Montenegro of the insurgent army, who surrendered and came into Manila the other day to renew old friendships, told me that Aguinaldo, before fleeing from Tarlac, reorganized his army into small companies and ordered a guerrilla warfare.

"The most significant task tending to prove that the Filipinos are not in a peaceful mood is that the arms used in the insurrection have not been surrendered. It is estimated that the insurgents had a total of 22,000 rifles, most of them Mausers, with a few Springfields and Remingtons. Only 3,000 or 4,000 rifles have been captured or purchased. The government now pays \$30 (Mexican) for every rifle turned in by a native. As a result of this liberal offer many old Remingtons and defective Springfields have been given up, but the natives have not yet begun to turn in the new Mausers with which they did their fighting. There must be about 18,000 rifles remaining in the hands of the insurgents, and the Americans seem unable to buy them or capture them. It is only fair to conclude that the Filipinos are keeping these weapons because they expect to use them again.

"Until there is a radical change in the temper of the Filipinos, the towns which are garrisoned will remain 'pacified' only so long as the garrisons remain. Until the leaders of the insurrection are put out of the business the plotting will continue and attacks will be ordered.

"In answer to the question, 'How soon can peace be established?' the usual answer was, 'At least two or three years.' Certainly it will

be months and perhaps years before the United States will dare to withdraw its garrisons and intrust the territory to civil authorities and local sentiment. In many provinces there seems to be an improvement in conditions. The belligerents are returning to their homes and putting in crops, but the army is not disposed to trust these 'amigos.'

"No doubt there are thousands of good people in the United States who are pained and provoked because the Filipinos have not perceived the lofty virtue of our intentions as a governing power and submitted to us gladly. But this presupposes that the Filipinos are acquainted with the spirit of our institutions and can figure from it that we are cruel only to be kind. The Filipino is no mind-reader. Of course we have told him that if he surrenders his arms and obeys our instructions it will be better for him in the long run, but, unfortunately, the Filipino is convinced that white men do not tell the truth. The natives regard every fair promise as some new trick to deceive them. In brief, the effort to coddle them has not been successful.

"Have we any friends in the islands? Yes, the European business element in Manila and the other ports are in favor of American rule because they see in it the only hope of a stable government with protection for property interests.

"If we have comparatively no friends among the natives the reasons are not hard to discover. Assuming that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government and that the United States really wishes to deal justly and humanely with them, there is still no denying that we permitted them to believe that they would be granted their independence, that later on we refused to consider their claims and that up to date we have killed about 15,000 of them. The only law we have given them up to date is martial law, which is always hateful. Whatever may be the facts as to the outbreak of February, 1899, the natives blame the Americans for the present war."

The war in the Philippines need never to have been begun if the representatives of this government had been permitted to observe sacred obligations and to keep faith with Gen. Aguinaldo, our ally. So at any time the war could have been brought to an end if a man of force and character (like Admiral Dewey) had been upon the ground with authority to open peaceful negotiations with the native leaders for the establishment of a Filipino republic under the protection of the United States.

Such an arrangement would have secured to us all the advantages for

which the imperialistic war is presumably being waged, and without incurring loss of life and treasure, without inculcating the poison of blood lust upon our citizen soldiery. An unjust war is always attended by a moral cost as great, if not greater, to the victor than to the vanquished. In the case of a republic, where the weapons of oppression are placed in the hands which have later to cast the ballot, this moral deterioration is beyond estimate in its power to weaken the fibre of the body politic.

The Democracy, having protested in vain at the door of the White House and in the halls of the Congress, now appeals in confidence to the people whose honor has been betrayed by their servants at Washington.

At heart the American people of all parties are Democrats. They are not imperialists. They cling with devotion to the Declaration of Independence. They believe in government only by the consent of the governed. They do not believe in taxation without representation. The Democracy stands for this people. They have tolerated the war in the Philippines partly from pride in the gallantry of American arms, but chiefly because they accepted the facile assurances of the President that it was the purpose of the government to carry, not conquest to those distant islands, but the blessings of American liberty and a free government.

Never for a moment did the American people entertain the idea of a subject colony beyond the limits of this continent. Still less have they acquiesced in the prosecution of a ruthless war to that end against a people whose only offense has been to draw their swords in the defense of their homes. For such an offense the soldiers and hirelings of George III invaded the American colonies and were met and defeated by the founders of this republic.

Even the thoughtful minority of those favored classes who set commercial success above the higher considerations of justice and equity, now admit that our material ends would better have been served by keeping within the path of honor and preserving faith with our Filipino allies. Ordinary prudence pointed the way in the beginning to secure the co-operation of that intrepid people in the establishment of a United States protectorate over a Filipino republic. Instead we have been made to rouse their hostility against the Spanish policy of conquest and oppression which the McKinley administration has continued and enlarged upon.

If a naval station on the threshold of the Chinese market be a necessity to our new foreign commerce, it might have been secured with peace and honor, and without the outpouring of precious American blood which set in nearly two years ago and is still at full tide; more important still, without the ruthless debauchery of the national honor.

The prototype of the American imperialists is Cecil Rhodes, the multi-millionaire autocrat of South Africa, who with brazen cynicism has described the flag of his country as a mere "commercial asset." The American concessionaires and corruptionists would make a commercial asset of the Stars and Stripes, which, until their arrival upon the scene, had always been the standard of liberty and equal rights for all men. The youthful senator from Indiana, in his dithyrambic apology for McKinleyism in the Philippines, admitted almost in terms that the Republican promises of good faith in those islands were but a cloak for schemes of commercial aggression. For this outburst of candor Mr. Beveridge was rebuked and insulted by his Republican colleagues, but neither the latter nor the President himself has repudiated Mr. Beveridge's utterances, much less turned back upon the imperialistic course which he in his indiscretion laid bare.

Nor were the Filipinos slow to perceive the force of these admissions. Senator Beveridge's speech, directly its echoes reached the islands, had the instant effect of strengthening the backbone of Filipino resistance. The "little brown" patriots lacked neither the intelligence to perceive nor the patriotism to resist the onset of commercial oppression thus indiscreetly avowed. They recognized the oppressor, though he came wearing the garb of hypocrisy.

Even by the degraded standard of the new commercialism, the Filipino war has been an abominable failure. Corporations and trustmen, who look to make those distant islands what they have already made of Cuba and Porto Rico, as a preserve for valuable concessions, regard with complacency the prospect of parceling among themselves a territory supposedly rich in natural resources and of fattening in perpetuity on the fruits of unlimited cheap "nigger" labor. But such a prospect has no charms for the common people who are to have no share in this loot. Concessions in the "new colonies" are for multi-millionaires who can purchase them by contributing to a presidential campaign fund to be raised to defeat the will of the people. The people are allowed, first,

to furnish food for bullets in battle and then to contribute of the fruits of their toil to pay the cost of the war.

Nor do the people look with pleasure upon the prospect of competing in the labor market with ten million Asiatic fellow "subject citizens." Only the tariff-fed beneficiary of a paternal government can hope to derive pleasure or profit from such an addition to our population.

A rational policy, guided by a sincere desire to benefit all the people, would have seen in the early stages of the Philippine situation an opportunity to conciliate the native population and make them useful to our success, rather than embitter them against us by the bombardment of their churches and cities and the slaughter of their friends and brothers. We have yet to find, if the present policy be continued at Washington, that a cowed and broken people are neither enterprising producers nor profitable consumers. We shall not pluck commercial success out of an unjust war, whatever success may seem to attend our arms. The experience of Great Britain, to which the McKinley administration is so fond of appealing, might have taught us that the cost of administering over a subject people, is never equaled by the revenues which they yield to their conquerors. Only the favored few, aided by special privileges and discriminations, reap a golden harvest from such a field.

These plain precepts the party in power has ignored or outraged. How long the consequences of its criminal folly are to endure remains to be seen. The shame of it can never pass. Certainly so long as the present policy is continued, no improvement is to be looked for, but rather an aggravation of present evils and the birth of new ones even greater.

The Democracy offers the only remedy available. It is the simple historic remedy of the party—to restore the people to power, to drive the money changers from the temple of government to give effect to the popular demand that this unrighteous war shall cease by the motion of this government, that the pretenses of American sovereignty in the Philippines be abandoned, and that to the suffering patriots of that faraway land be restored their own.

So much is due to those whom we have wronged; so much and more is due to ourselves; for if this republic could not exist "half free and half slave," neither can it continue half citizen and half vassal. Our Constitution forbids it and all history cries out against it. We have only to appeal from the McKinley of 1900 to the McKinley of 1899 for a

fitting statement of the perils which impend. These words, from a speech delivered by the President, then a representative in Congress, at the New England dinner in Philadelphia ten years ago, apply with all the force of an inspired prophecy to the situation which his own subsequent folly has brought about:

"Human rights and constitutional privileges must not be forgotten in the race for wealth and commercial supremacy. The government of the people must be by the people, and not by a few of the people; it must rest upon the free consent of the governed and of all of the governed. Power, it must be remembered, which is secured by oppression or usurpation, or by any form of injustice, is soon dethroned. We have no right in law or morals to usurp that which belongs to another, whether it is property or power."

Nor does the question so often triumphantly asked in behalf of the imperialistic cause, "What are we to do with the Philippines?" offer any difficulties that may not be dissolved even now by a rational and honest course of procedure. The McKinley government had it in its power two years ago to have made the first of May the birthday of liberty in the far East—a Filipino Fourth of July. That opportunity was lost and the blunder was committed, if no worse name be deserved, of continuing in the American name the policy of Spanish oppression in the islands. It is now perceived that this policy was dictated by the interests which seek to erect upon the ruins of Filipino liberty a fabric for the destruction of the liberty of Americans. Every act of the administration since the war began is a convincing proof of this. But it is not yet too late to undo all but the disgrace which has been fastened upon the national name. An honest administration at Washington, obedient to the popular will, inspired by the principles of Democracy, would hasten to subdue the hostility of the Filipinos and enter into negotiations with those brave men for the establishment of a republic in their islands. All they ask is the same measure of liberty which our Constitution declares is the portion of all men without regard to race, color or creed. They have never yet rejected, and they never would reject the idea of an American protectorate from which they might derive guidance and instruction during the early stages of their newly acquired autonomy. Such assistance is in our power, as it should be our pleasure, to afford to any people struggling out of the darkness of servitude. It is doubly incumbent, in view of all that has transpired, upon the great republic of the West, to

do everything in its power to set up in the East the standard of equal rights of which our flag has always been the symbol. Spain was in the Philippines the exponent of monarchy and the exemplar of aristocracy and class favoritism. Instead of following in her footsteps, we might have made the victory of Manila Bay the foundation stone of a new republic in the far East, the scope of whose destinies no man can conceive. And we may do so yet, but only in the name of the whole people, whose restoration to the power of which they have been robbed the Democracy now, as always heretofore, is the champion.

So loud is the voice of protest against this administration's new and dangerous departure from the path of honor and safety; so many men of so many parties and class affiliations have spoken out, that a new chapter of our political literature may be said to have grown up since the war with Spain. It is only within the past two years that the word "imperialism" has become a part of our language. Now the air is full of it. A veritable wave of imperialism has passed over the land, carrying before it, in thousands of American hearts, the old standards of right and law.

For the first time we hear of the "American Empire" and "American Colonies" from men who ought to know that such terms are in themselves, contradictory and impossible. Abraham Lincoln might rise from his grave and repeat with truth what he said at Springfield in June, 1857:

"In the days of the fathers the Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all and thought to include all; but now, it is assailed, and sneered at, and construed, and hawked at, and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they could not at all recognize it."

And again he said, speaking of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise:

"I think, and shall try to show, that it is wrong,—wrong in its direct effect,—letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, *and wrong in its prospective principle*, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world, where men can be found inclined to take it.

"This declared indifference, but as I must think covert real zeal, for the spread of slavery, I can not but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence; enables the enemies of free institutions, with plausibility, to taunt us as hypocrites; causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity; and especially because it forces

so many really good men among ourselves *into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticizing the Declaration of Independence.*"

Once again the time has come when the Declaration of Independence is not held sacred by all, is not thought to include all. Once again, to make the bondage, not of the negro, but of the Filipino, universal and eternal, "It is assailed, and sneered at, and hawked at, and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they could not at all recognize it."

The forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands is now being attempted. The Government of the United States is endeavoring to subject this people against their will. To enforce this idea is to enforce slavery; not in the extreme degree, to be sure, but in part and in principle nevertheless. On this point United States Senator Bacon has truly said:

"Whenever the people are required to render an obedience which is involuntary, that requirement is an enslavement of that people.

"There are different degrees of enslavement. If we put our yoke upon a people, if we rule them arbitrarily, if we send them governors and judges, if we make laws for them without their participation, if we enforce obedience to such laws by our army, then it is an absolute enslavement. If, on the contrary, we allow them free institutions, but at the same time prescribe to them that they shall owe allegiance to a government against their will, it is none the less an enslavement, although less in degree."

The apologists for imperialism have ceased to mince their words. It will not be their fault if the people do not appreciate the policy which confronts them.

"A constitution and national policy adopted by thirteen half-consolidated, weak, rescued colonies," says Mr. Franklin MacVeagh, "glad to be able to call their life their own, can not be expected to hamper the greatest nation in the world."

President Northrup was no less outspoken when, at the Chicago Peace Jubilee Banquet, he said:

"In the right to acquire territory is found the right to govern; and as the right to govern is sovereign and *unlimited*, the right to govern is a sovereign right, and I maintain is not limited in the Constitution. *I think it must be admitted that the right to govern is sovereign and un-*

limited. . . . Governments derive their just powers from the consent of some of the governed."

And these words were actually delivered in the United States Senate by Mr. Platt, of Connecticut:

"The Declaration of Independence was made to suit a particular existing condition of things. The Declaration meant simply that the Colonies had become tired of the British domination, deeming it oppressive, and intended to set up a government of their own by the right of revolution. They were not laying down a principle for anybody except themselves, and they had no conception of the 'consent of the governed,' as it is proclaimed by Mr. ——— and the generally hypocritical gang who are sympathizing with him in the hope of cheating us out of our rightful conquests."

It remained for a minister of the Gospel, the Rev. P. S. Henson, of the First Baptist Church, Chicago, to go to the extreme of imperialistic frenzy in these words delivered at a public meeting in May, 1899:

"And so today there are those that wave the Declaration of Independence in our faces, and tell us that the thing to do is to deliver over those islands of the archipelago in the East to the people who are their rightful masters; for 'all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.' So wrote Thomas Jefferson. Do you remember that the Lord said to Joshua, 'My servant is dead'? And so is Thomas Jefferson. I do not believe that Thomas Jefferson was infallible. I believe that a live President in the year of grace 1899 is just as much of an authority as a President that lived and died a hundred years ago. I am no worshiper of a saint just because he is dead. Let the dead bury the dead. *As to that hallowed document that declares that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, if that is to be literally construed, THERE NEVER WAS A GREATER FALSEHOOD PALMED OFF BY THE DEVIL UPON A CREDULOUS WORLD. It is not true of the government of God.*"

Mr. Whitelaw Reid has spoken often and fervidly in the same vein, urging his hearers to "resist the crazy extension of this doctrine that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed." His newspaper, the New York Tribune, once edited by Horace Greeley, has actually printed such sentiments as these:

"It is a favorite notion now to quote the words, 'Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the

governed,' as if these embodied a law of application to all inhabitants alike. . . . It was never the intention (of the signers of the Declaration) to assert that the negroes or the savage race must give consent before just government should be established over them. . . . The Declaration of Independence was a formal notice that the inhabitants of the colonies consented no longer to British rule."

The advocates of the imperialistic policy have even cited past events in our national history in support of their theory. The Fathers are quoted, and chief among them Thomas Jefferson. But of all our statesmen none was more hostile to colonial policy than the sage of Monticello.

Mr. Bryan has divided imperialism, as it now presents itself, into four distinct propositions, as follows:

"1. That the acquisition of territory by conquest is right.

"2. That the acquisition of remote territory is desirable.

"3. That the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is unsound.

"4. That people can be wisely governed by aliens."

As for conquering territory and ruling over it there can be no mistaking Jefferson's position, for in 1791 he wrote to William Short:

"If there be one principle more deeply written than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest."

This is plain enough from the author of the Declaration of Independence. The very fundamental principle of the doctrine of a republic is diametrically opposed to the acquisition of territory by conquest. This truth is plainly set forth by John Fiske, the most philosophical American historian, in his "Beginnings of New England." He divides nation-making into three classes, the third of which he styles the "English method." This he defines as being the one which contains the "*principle of representation*." He adds:

"For this reason, though like all nation-making it was in its early stages attended with war and conquest, it nevertheless *does not necessarily require war and conquest* in order to be put into operation. . . . Now of the English or Teutonic method, I say, *war is not an essential part*; for where representative government is once established, it is possible for a great nation to be formed by the peaceful coalescence of neighboring states, or by their union into a federal body. . . . Now *Federalism*, though its rise and establishment may be incidentally ac-

complished by warfare, is nevertheless in spirit pacific. *Conquest in the Oriental sense is quite incompatible with it; conquest in the Roman sense hardly less so.* At the close of our Civil war there were now and then zealous people to be found who thought that the Southern States ought to be treated as conquered territory, governed by prefects sent from Washington, and held down by military force for a generation or so. Let us hope that there are few today who can fail to see that such a course would have been fraught with almost as much danger as the secession movement itself. At least it would have been a hasty confession, quite uncalled for and quite untrue, that American Federalism had thus far proved itself incompetent; that we had indeed preserved our national unity, but only at the frightful cost of sinking to a lower plane of national life.

"Our experience has now so far widened that we can see that despotism is not the strongest but *well-nigh* the weakest form of government; that centralized administrations, like that of the Roman Empire, have fallen to pieces, not because of too much, but because of too little freedom; and that the only perdurable government must be that which succeeds in achieving national unity on a grand scale, without weakening the sense of local and personal independence. For in the body politic this spirit of freedom is as the red corpuscles in the blood; it carries the life with it. It makes the difference between a society of self-respecting men and women and a society of puppets. Your nation may have art, poetry, and science, all the refinements of civilized life, all the comforts and safeguards that human ingenuity can devise, but if it lose this spirit of personal and local independence, it is doomed, and deserves its doom. . . . Of the two opposite perils which have perpetually threatened the welfare of political society,—anarchy on the one hand, loss of self-government on the other,—Jefferson was right in maintaining that the latter is really the more to be dreaded, because its beginnings are so terribly insidious."

The anti-imperialistic principles of Jefferson have been re-affirmed in more recent times, even by the Republican leaders, before their party became saturated with the virus of conquest. One of these, whose voice may well be invoked at this time, was James G. Blaine. One of Mr. Blaine's greatest ambitions was to bring the republics of North and South America into closer relations. At a conference held for this pur-

pose in 1890, he introduced the following resolutions, which were approved by the commissioners present:—

“First. That the principle of conquest shall not, during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration, be recognized as admissible under American public law.

“Second. That all cessions of territory made during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration shall be void, if made under threats of war or in the presence of an armed force.

“Third. Any nation from which such cession shall be exacted may demand that the validity of the cession so made shall be submitted to arbitration.

“Fourth. Any renunciation of the right to arbitration made under the conditions made in the second section shall be null and void.”

Commenting on these resolutions, Mr. Bryan has justly said:

“So objectionable is the theory of acquisition of territory by conquest that the nation which suffers such injustice can, according to the resolutions, recover by arbitration the land ceded in the presence of an armed force. So abhorrent is it that a waiver of arbitration, under such circumstances, is null and void.”

Jefferson was ever opposed to the acquisition of remote territory. He continually stated that he did not desire for the United States any land outside the North American continent. It is true, however, as an exception to this that he desired the annexation of the island of Cuba. On this point, however, he has left on record a letter addressed, in June, 1823, to the President, Monroe, in which he suggests that we should be ready to receive Cuba “when solicited by herself.” The only reason that he ever dreamed of desiring Cuba was because of its nearness to our own shores; but for fear that any one might use its annexation as a precedent for general and indefinite expansion, he said in another letter to James Madison, then President: “It will be objected to our receiving Cuba, that no limit can be drawn to our future acquisitions;” but he added, “Cuba can be defended by us without a navy, and this develops the principle which ought to limit our views. Nothing should ever be accepted which requires a navy to defend it.”

And still further, in the same letter, speaking in view of the possible acquisition of that island, he said: “I would immediately erect a column on the southernmost limit of Cuba, and inscribe on it a *ne plus ultra* as to us in that direction.”

Upon the proposition regarding the government of people by aliens, Jefferson spoke words which, for the truth they contain and the modest simplicity they manifest, must live forever. There was formed in the year 1817 a French society, the members of which had for their purpose to settle near the Tombigbee River. This society invited Jefferson to formulate laws and regulations for them. Replying, from Monticello, he expressed his appreciation of their feelings toward the confidence in him, but stated in effect that he could not conscientiously undertake the task. Following are his reasons for declining:

"The laws, however, which must effect this must flow from their own habits, their own feelings, and the resources of their own minds. No stranger to these could possibly propose regulations adapted to them. Every people have their own particular habits, ways of thinking, manners, etc., which have grown up with them from their infancy, are become a part of their nature, and to which the regulations which are to make them happy must be accommodated. No member of a foreign country can have a sufficient sympathy with these. The institutions of Lycurgus, for example, would not have suited Athens, nor those of Solon, Lacedaemon. The organizations of Locke were impracticable for Carolina, and those of Rosseau for Poland. Turning inwardly on myself from these eminent illustrations of the truth of my observation, I feel all the presumption it would manifest should I undertake to do what this respectable society is alone qualified to do suitably for itself."

Who can deny these truths? No self-respecting community will cheerfully obey any other than self-imposed laws. They may obey through fear, or on account of the presence of armed force, but there will always be danger of riots caused by discontent, or of insurrection in the hope of freedom. Liberty is an inalienable right.

Colonial empire is not only un-republican and un-democratic in principle; it is unprofitable. We have heard a great deal of late of the "splendid colonial system of England," but who can forget the words of Lord Macaulay, in his "Essay on the West Indies":—

"There are some who assert that, from a military and political point of view, the West Indies are of great importance to this country. This is a common but a monstrous misrepresentation. We venture to say that colonial empire has been one of the greatest curses of modern Europe. What nation has it ever strengthened? What nation has it ever enriched? What have been its fruits?—Wars of frequent occurrence and

immense cost, fettered trade, lavish expenditure, clashing jurisdiction, corruption in governments and indigence among the people. What have Mexico and Peru done for Spain, the Brazils for Portugal, Batavia for Holland? Or, if the experience of others is lost upon us, shall we not profit by our own? What have we not sacrificed to our infatuated passion for transatlantic dominion? This it is that has so often led us to risk our own smiling gardens and dear firesides for some snowy desert or infectious morass on the other side of the globe; this induced us to resign all the advantages of our insular situation, to embroil ourselves in the intrigues and fight the battles of half the continent, to form coalitions which were instantly broken, to give subsidies which were never earned; this gave birth to the fratricidal war against American liberty, with all its disgraceful defeats, and all its barren victories, and all the massacres of the Indian hatchet, and all the bloody contracts of the Hessian slaughter-house; this it was which, in the war against the French Republic, induced us to send thousands and tens of thousands of our bravest troops to die in West Indian hospitals, while the armies of our enemies were pouring over the Rhine and the Alps. When a colonial acquisition has been in prospect, we have thought no expenditure extravagant, no interference perilous. Gold has been to us as dust, and blood as water. Shall we never learn wisdom? Shall we never cease to prosecute a pursuit wilder than the wildest dreams of alchemy, with all the credulity and all the profusion of Sir Epicure Mammon?

“Those who maintain that settlements so remote conduce to the military or maritime power of nations, fly in the face of history.”

The war of the Revolution—the war which effected the separation between these United States and Great Britain—was fundamentally, and was fought for four long years exclusively, *against the colonial system of Europe*. This is the most important fact. In a war against that system, this nation originated, not as a matter of *policy*, but as a matter of *principle*. In the commencement of that struggle the Fathers of this nation did not contemplate independence from the mother land. “When the people of Rhode Island burned the British war sloop ‘Gaspee’ in Narragansett Bay,” said Senator Vest, in a recent speech, “and the people of Massachusetts threw overboard the cargo of tea in Boston harbor, they acted as British subjects, proclaiming their loyalty to the crown of England. When Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Light-Horse Harry Lee met at the old Raleigh tavern in Williamsburg, Va., and in-

dorsed the action of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, they proclaimed themselves English subjects, loyal to the king, and only demanded the rights that were given to them as Englishmen by Magna Charta, and the Bill of Rights.

“What is the colonial system against which our Fathers protested?—It is based upon the fundamental idea that the people of immense areas of territory can be held as subjects, never to become citizens; that they must pay taxes, and be impoverished by governmental exaction without having anything to do with the legislation under which they live.

“Against taxation without representation our Fathers fought for the first four years of the Revolution, struggling against the system which England then attempted to impose upon them, and which was graphically described by Thomas Jefferson as the belief that nine-tenths of mankind were born bridled and saddled, and the other tenth booted and spurred to ride them.”

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAW VERSUS IMPERIALISM

It is not contended that this nation is prohibited by any natural or human law from acquiring territory, but always within the limitations of *right*. All territory that is acquired outside of the seat of the National capital, dockyards, arsenals, etc., must be acquired with the idea that it will be admitted to statehood just as soon as possible, and the government has no right to acquire territory with any other purpose in view.

This principle has been laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the famous Dred Scott decision:

"There is certainly *no power* given by the Constitution to the Federal Government *to establish or maintain colonies* bordering on the United States or at a distance, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure, nor to enlarge its territorial limits in any way *except by the admission of new States*. That power is plainly given; and if a new State is admitted, it needs no further legislation by Congress, because the Constitution itself defines the relative rights and powers and duties of the State and the citizens of the State and the Federal Government. But no power is given to acquire a territory to be held and governed permanently in that character.

"And, indeed, the power exercised by Congress to acquire territory and establish a government there, according to its own unlimited discretion, was viewed with great jealousy by the leading statesmen of the day. And in the *Federalist* (No. 38), written by Mr. Madison, he speaks of the acquisition of the Northwestern Territory by the Confederate States, by the cession from Virginia, and the establishment of a government there, was an exercise of power not warranted by the articles of confederation, and dangerous to the liberties of the people. And he urges the adoption of the Constitution as a security and safeguard against such an exercise of power.

"We do not mean, however, to question the power of Congress in this respect. The power to expand the territory of the United States by the admission of new States is plainly given; and in the construction of this power by all the departments of the Government, it has been held to

authorize the acquisition of territory not fit for admission at the time, but to be admitted as soon as its population and situation would entitle it to admission. It is acquired to become a State, and not to be held as a colony and governed by Congress with absolute authority; and as the propriety of admitting a new State is committed to the sound judgment of Congress, the power to acquire territory for that purpose, to be held by the United States until it is in a suitable condition to become a State upon an equal footing with the other States, must rest upon the same discretion."

While the court was not unanimous upon all the points in this decision, all the nine justices concurred in the principles above stated, and, moreover, in his dissenting opinion, Mr. Justice McLean took the same position with even greater emphasis:—

"In organizing the government of a Territory, Congress is limited to means appropriate to the attainment of the constitutional object. No powers can be exercised which are prohibited by the Constitution, or which are contrary to its spirit; so that, whether the object may be the protection of the property and persons of purchasers of the public lands or of communities who have been annexed to the Union by conquest or purchase, *they are initiatory to the establishment of State governments, and no more power can be claimed or exercised than is necessary to the attainment of that end.* This is the limitation of all the Federal powers."

These opinions clearly set forth the absence of power in this government to hold Territories as colonies not to be admitted as States, and with no prospect of becoming States. In both of the opinions quoted "the fundamental idea is conveyed that all the power of Congress in regard to the Territories is to be exercised as an initiatory process to their becoming States of the American Union."

And these principles have formed a part of the political faith of Americans of all parties until within the last few months; the actions of the Government have uniformly been in harmony with them.

The first land held by the United States not in the form of a State was the Northwestern Territory ceded by Virginia. It embraced the area now occupied by the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota. While the constitutional convention was sitting, the Congress of the Confederation was considering the matter of the government of the Northwest Territory. On July 13, 1787, that body passed the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, drawn by the same hand that chiseled the Declaration of In-

dependence. Its existence and binding efficacy were expressly recognized in the legislation of the first Congress under the Constitution, that of 1789. It contains this provision:—

“Sec. 13. And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said Territory; to provide, also, *for the establishment of States and permanent government* therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest.

“Sec. 14. It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and the States of the said Territory, and forever remain unalterable unless by common consent.”

The ordinance distinctly mentions the “establishment of States and permanent government,” showing conclusively that in the minds of the Fathers the power of the federal government to hold and rule this Territory was only *temporary*.

Again, on April 30, 1803, the United States government completed the purchase of Louisiana from France. “The territory thus acquired embraced the area now occupied by the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, all but the southwest corner of Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota west of the Mississippi river, Nebraska, Colorado east of the Rocky mountains and north of the Arkansas river, the two Dakotas, Montana, Idaho, Oregon, Washington, most of Wyoming, and the present Indian Territory.” The treaty with France by which this cession was achieved contains a statement of the same principle:

“The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the meantime they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.”

Thomas Jefferson was at this time President of the United States, and James Madison was secretary of state. The treaty was signed by James

Monroe and Robert Livingston, and was ratified while many of the framers of the Constitution were still active in the government. The whole furnishes a lucid commentary upon the understanding of these men as to the principle of the government of new territory.

The next territory which was added to the national domain was that of the Floridas. These, by the terms of the treaty of Washington, were ceded to us by Spain, Feb. 22, 1819. This treaty provides:

"The inhabitants of the territories which his Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States by this treaty shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States."

In 1845 Texas was annexed, and admitted to statehood by one and the same act, so that no provision concerning the civil and religious status of the inhabitants was necessary. Following this was the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Feb. 2, 1848, by which the United States acquired from Mexico the territory included in the States of California, Nevada, Utah, the greater part of Arizona, the larger part of New Mexico, Colorado west of the Rocky Mountains, and the southwestern part of Wyoming. This increase of territory was further added to by the Gadsden purchase from Mexico, Dec. 30, 1853, which now constitutes the southern part of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona. Article 9 of this treaty says:

"The Mexicans, who in the territory aforesaid shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution, and in the meantime shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction."

This article was also adopted as an article of the Gadsden treaty. And again in the Alaskan treaty it was provided that "the inhabitants * * * shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States."

All these treaties prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that, until within the last few months, this nation was utterly opposed to the colonial policy; that we considered it subversive of our fundamental principles,

and that in every case where territory was acquired, it was stipulated in clear and distinct language that such territory should be admitted to statehood in accordance with the principles of the Federal Constitution. It follows that the record of the United States, until the present crisis, has been unanimously in support of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States.

Contrast with these historic state papers, embodying in many cases the very words of the founders of the Republic, the following from Mr. McKinley's famous speech at Boston :

"Did we ask their consent to liberate them from Spanish sovereignty, or to enter Manila Bay and destroy the Spanish sea power there? We did not ask these. We were obeying a higher moral obligation which rested upon us, and which did not require anybody's consent. Every present obligation has been met and fulfilled in the expulsion of Spanish sovereignty from the islands, and while the war was in progress we could not ask their views. Nor can we now ask their consent."

It was in a better vein that the President wrote to Congress on Dec. 6, 1897, before he had become inoculated with the virus of imperialism :

"Of the untried measures there remain only recognition of the insurgents as belligerents, recognition of the independence of Cuba, neutral intervention to end the war by imposing a rational compromise between the contestants, and intervention in favor of one or the other party. *I speak not of forcible annexation for that can not be thought of. That, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression.*"

"Our code of morality" remains the same; the President and his party have changed. Forgetful of his own words as well as of the constitutional truths upon which they were founded, Mr. McKinley is now waging a war of "forcible annexation" in the Philippines. Is it any less "criminal aggression" there than it would have been in Cuba? There can be no difference in principle between the two. When the President of the United States announces that he can not ask the consent of the Filipinos to allow him to govern them, he virtually proclaims a war of extermination. When the commanding general of the American army in the Philippines demands unconditional surrender, and nothing but that, he also proclaims a war of extermination. But the Filipinos are fighting simply for their freedom. Our armies are waging war against freedom and against the right of self government.

"The question of imperialism," Prof. Sumner, of Yale, has said, "is the question whether we are going to give the lie to the origin of our own national existence by establishing a colonial system of the old Spanish type, even if we have to sacrifice our own existing civil and political system to do it. I submit that it is a strange incongruity to utter grand platitudes about the blessings of liberty, etc., which we are going to impart to these people, and to begin by refusing to extend the Constitution over them, and still more by throwing the Constitution into the gutter here at home. If you take away the Constitution, what is the American liberty and all the rest? Nothing but a lot of phrases.

"The cold and unnecessary cruelty of the Spaniards to the aborigines is appalling, even if when compared with the treatment of the aborigines by other Europeans. A modern economist stands aghast at the economic measures adopted by Spain, as well in regard to her domestic policy as to her colonies. It seems as if these measures could only have been inspired by some demon of folly, they were so destructive to her prosperity. She possesses a large literature from the last three centuries, in which her publicists discuss with amazement the question whether it was a blessing or a curse to get the Indies, and why, with all the supposed conditions of prosperity in her hands, she was declining all the time.

"We now hear it argued that she is well rid of her colonies, and that if she will devote her energies to her internal development, and rid her politics of the corruption of colonial officials and interests, she may be regenerated. That is a rational opinion. It is the best diagnosis of her condition, and the best prescription of a remedy which the occasion has called forth. But what, then, will happen to the state which has taken over her colonies? I can see no answer except that that nation, with them, has taken over the disease, and that it now is to be corrupted by exploiting dependent communities just as she has been. That it stands exposed to this danger is undeniable."

It is an edifying spectacle—Columbia laying off the white garment of liberty to don the cast-off rags of Spanish despotism. Senator Tillman was not without warrant when he said:

"As far as my observations go, and as I understand the present status of the American people, we have no Constitution left."

"No man," said Abraham Lincoln, "is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent. When the white man governs

himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also another man that is more than self-government—that is despotism.”

No one imagines for a moment that the McKinley administration has ever contemplated admitting the Filipinos to American citizenship. The Republican policy contemplates a foreign despotism—nothing more or less—and of this policy Carl Schurz has well said:

“Let the poor, and the men who earn their bread by the labor of their hands, pause and consider well before they give their consent to a policy so deliberately forgetful of the equality of rights. * * * They will be told, as they are now told, that we are in it, and can not honorably get out of it; that destiny, and Providence, and duty demand it; that it would be cowardly to shrink from our new responsibilities; that those populations can not take care of themselves, and that it is our mission to let them have the blessings of our free institutions; and that we must have new markets for our products; that those countries are rich in resources, and that there is plenty of money to be made by taking them; that the American people can whip anybody, and do anything they set out to do; and that ‘Old Glory’ should float over every land on which we can lay our hands.

“Those who have yielded to such cries once will yield to them again. Conservative citizens will tell them that thus the homogeneousness of the people of the Republic, so essential to the working of our democratic institutions, will be irretrievably lost; that our race troubles, already dangerous, will be infinitely aggravated; and that the government, of, by, and for the people will be in imminent danger of fatal demoralization. They will be cried down as pusillanimous pessimists, who are no longer American patriots. The American people will be driven on and on by the force of events, as Napoleon was when started on his career of limitless conquest. This is imperialism as now advocated. Do we wish to prevent its excesses? Then we must stop at the beginning, before taking Porto Rico. If we take that island, not even to speak of the Philippines, we shall have placed ourselves on the incline plane, and roll on and on, no longer masters of our own will, until we have reached the bottom. And where will that bottom be? Who knows?”

Mr. Schurz’s reward for these patriotic warnings has been an outcry of “treason” from the leaders of the imperialistic policy. The same has been meted out to every patriot who has dared to raise the voice of warn-

ing. Mr. Bryan spoke with prophetic truth when he said at the Duckworth Club banquet in Cincinnati, Jan. 6, 1899:

"If we enter upon a colonial policy, we must expect to hear the command 'Silence!' issuing with increased emphasis from the imperialists. If a member of Congress attempts to criticise any injustice perpetrated by a government official against a helpless people, he will be warned to keep silent lest his criticisms encourage resistance to American authority in the Orient.

"If an orator on the Fourth of July dares to speak of unalienable rights, or refers with commendation to the manner in which our forefathers resisted taxation without representation, he will be warned to keep silent lest his utterances excite rebellion among distant subjects."

This prophecy has been abundantly fulfilled, against citizens of high repute, against senators and representatives in Congress in their official places, in the exercise of a strict censorship against the representatives of the press and in the stoppage of documents in the United States mails. It may well be asked with such beginnings of imperialistic rule already accomplished, what will be the end?

Already the chief executive of the United States is by his own construction of his duties and obligations, king of the Philippine Islands. It is an enviable position for the official successor of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

Misrepresentation of facts and abuse of individuals form a necessary part of the imperialistic policy. To be a patriot, according to the new rule, it is needful to paint Aguinaldo and his associates as traitors and his followers as savages and barbarians. The recorded facts indeed tell a story of treachery, but the traitor is not the Filipino leader. There is official evidence of irrefragable character that Aguinaldo and his followers were led by accredited agents of the McKinley administration, to believe that the United States would support them in their struggle against Spanish rule and become their friend and ally and the protector of a Filipino republic. Such an agreement was faithfully carried out by our consuls and army and navy officers until the word came from Washington to set up the imperial standard at Manila. Beyond a doubt the American army has been the aggressor against the brave and patriotic people. The evidence has been published so widely that it need not be repeated here. These facts plainly appear upon testimony given before the peace commission in Paris:

First. That the co-operation of Aguinaldo and his followers was sought and obtained by the representatives of this government.

Second. That it was distinctly understood when this arrangement was made that those whose aid and co-operation were thus sought and obtained were fighting for independence, and that they were opposed to annexation to the United States.

Third. That the Philippine leaders were positively encouraged by those acting as representatives of the United States government to believe that this country would assist them to realize their aspirations.

Imperialists have ceased to excuse their bad faith by an "appeal to history." They now justify their perfidy on the plea that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government. The plea would be insufficient if it were true. No nation has the moral right to enforce its rule upon an inferior people. But it is not true. Gen. Otis, lately returned from the islands, declares that the Filipinos are superior to the Cubans or to any other of the Asiatic people, including the Japanese and Chinese. In his report to the Secretary of the Navy, Aug. 29, 1898, Admiral Dewey said:

"In a telegram sent to the department on June 23, I expressed the opinion that 'these people (the Filipinos) are far superior in their intelligence, and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races.' Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion."

United States Consul Roundseville Wildman has expressed the same opinion at greater length:

"I have lived among the Malays of the Straits Settlements, and have been an honored guest of the different sultanates. I have watched their system of government, and have admired their intelligence, and I rank them high among the semicivilized nations of the earth. The natives of the Philippine Islands belong to the Malay race, and while there are very few pure Malays among their leaders, I think their stock has rather been improved than debased by admixture. I consider that the forty or fifty Philippine leaders, with whose fortunes I have been very closely connected, are the superiors of both the Malays and the Cubans. Aguinaldo, Agoncilla, and Sandico are all men who would be leaders in their separate departments in any country; while among the wealthy Manila men who live in Hongkong, and who are spending their money liberally for the overthrow of the Spaniards and for annexation to the United States—

men like the Cortes family and the Basa family—would hold their own among bankers and lawyers anywhere.”

The kind of men who form the Filipino congress has been described by Mr. Roberson, who himself visited the congress while it was in session. He gives a very favorable account of the character and ability of the members. Of the eighty-three members sitting, seventeen were graduates of European universities, and the president, Pedro Paterno, took his degree as D. D. in the University of Madrid, and afterward received his degree of LL. D. from the University of Salamanca. His books are of such reputation that they have been translated into German.

The cant, that such a people are not fitted for self-government, but must wait until they are instructed by the disciples of Quay and Platt and Lodge would be food for mirth, if it were not rooted in so much duplicity and baseness.

That we are surely passing from a republic to a despotism, unless an uprising of the people like that of 1861, is near at hand, is certain. If the Constitution gives us a “free hand” regarding a tariff with Puerto Rico, why does it not with territories in the United States? If it permits discrimination between the States and the Territories, why cannot the free hand make a similar distinction between the States if party policy desires? There are plenty of Lodges and Beveridges to assume the powers of the Supreme Court and announce the new construction of constitutional law. As fast as it is necessary to violate the constitution there will be subservient senators enough to justify it. A flag that trade rebelliously refuses to follow is now trying to prevent the Constitution from following it. It needs remagnetising, having lost its attraction in the tropics, except for beer and rum.

“It would be easy,” says Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, “to name a score of men in the United States for whose pockets the war with Spain and the Philippines has been waged. These are the ‘economic men,’ the groups of capitalists as represented by the Standard Oil, the sugar, tobacco, steel and kindred trusts, who are at the bottom of imperialism and are the sappers and miners of democratic institutions. With Mammon for a deity they shout their bald and atheistic cries against the right of the governed to choose their own rulers and against the charters constituted to preserve those rights. Their clever lawyers are in the legislatures and the courts, their servants wear the livery of the United States, their ‘vested rights’ are guarded by churches and institutions of learn-

ing, of which they are princely patrons. They are a unit in purpose and lack of scruple. Against them are a people divided by unintelligent issues, in bondage to party demagogues, torn with dissensions and jealousies of class or race, ready instruments for the tyrant."

Ministerial defense of popular wrong finds expression in the prayer:

"We thank Thee that Thy Holy Writ
Is so adaptable a guide
That none need go away from it
With any doubt unsatisfied,
For every course some sanction is,
If not in John, in Genesis."

The struggle is between the men in the saddle and the masses who are without boots and spurs, a conflict beginning with the organization of society. It has taken centuries for the "subjects" to lose their awe for self-constituted authority. Strong governments based on military force are the necessary and logical outcome of autocratic ideas. When Jefferson and his compeers proposed to reverse these time-honored customs and to trust the plain people to make their own government, with no place for rulers by divine right, the hazardous experiment met the doubt and derision of Europe.

In these days of recantation of principles which alone account for this country's marvelous career, so astounding to old world prophets, it is salutary to recur to Lowell's Birmingham address, which Americans have recognized as the finest exposition of democracy. He defines democracy as "that form of society, no matter what its political classification, in which every man has a chance and knows that he has it." Our departure from this standard is evidenced by the lessening of men's chances and the congestion of wealth that must be justly distributed to ensure permanent self-government. The great factor wanting in despotisms is the consciousness of the people that they are robbed of their chances by designing interests, and that their robbery is not an act of nature. In a democracy education reveals the injustice, and herein lies our hope of defeating the plutocracy conspiracy to imperialize the republic.

The plausible defenders of the wrong would have us reclothe ourselves in the cast-off garments of arbitrary power; to exchange the institutions which bred Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln for the system which produces Napoleons, great and little, Metternichs and Bismarcks. And yet,

as Lowell reminds us, "universal suffrage has not been the instrument of greater unwisdom than contrivances of more select description," and he shows that assemblies composed entirely of Masters of Arts, Doctors of Divinity, Serene Highnesses and Enlightened Classes, have not carried on the business of mankind so well as to discourage a less costly method.

Imperialism is a reversion to serene highnesses and masters of arts; in this case highnesses of wealth and masters of the art of impoverishing the people, at the same time persuading them that the process is an enriching one. Are we ready for the right-about-face? We threw off the yoke of this same gentry; now we propose to be gentry ourselves and impose our yoke on others. It was an ancient saying that whoever puts a chain upon a slave is sure to bind one end of it about his own neck. The chain that binds the Philippines will, unless broken, strangle the liberty of the United States.

The story of the Talmud, which Wendell Phillips applied so forcibly to Daniel Webster, fits William McKinley equally well: "Og, King of Bashan, lifted once a great rock, to hurl it on the army of Judah. God hollowed it in the middle, letting it slip over the giant's neck, there to rest while he lived." The stone hurled by the President of the United States at the Filipinos in their struggle for freedom will weight his own neck as long as the history of the times shall last.

It was not until the fate of Porto Rico came before the Congress for final settlement that the American people realized how far they had been committed by the McKinley administration to the policy of empire-at-any-cost and the rule of the money power. In his annual message in December last, the President spoke of our "plain duty" to accord a full measure of free trade to the Porto Ricans. As he pointed out, these islanders had been received into the republic under promises and upon terms which admitted of no other arrangement. They were, like ourselves, under the Constitution, and the Constitution expressly provides that freedom of trade shall prevail between all the constituent units of the republic. This position had never been controverted, or even questioned; on the contrary, it had been asserted time and again by the highest courts until it was received everywhere as one of the fundamental maxims of our government. It was only natural that President McKinley, a man of no startling originality, but familiar with the ordinary precepts of law, should choose the occasion of his annual message to apply so obvious a principle to so important a subject.

What followed is a matter of very recent history. The shame and degradation of it can never be wiped away from American annals. The people, accustomed from the beginning to regard the Constitution as the supreme law of the land, had silently acquiesced in the President's recommendation and looked to see their Porto Rican fellow-citizens speedily established upon a basis suitable to the promises made in the name of the republic under which they had surrendered their allegiance to Spain and welcomed the invading army of the United States with hospitable acclaim. What then was their surprise and indignation when the Congress, upon taking up the Porto Rican question, was confronted with a formidable lobby, both within and without its membership, demanding the levy of a tariff upon Porto Rican trade. The impudence of this lobby, its brazen disregard for popular sentiment, the greedy air of ownership which it asserted over the representatives of the people, are things only to be understood in the light of the prominence which lobbyists and other agents of corruption have assumed under the present administration. Representatives and senators, who in obedience to the first impulses of honesty and duty had declared themselves on the side of the President's first position, were brought before star chamber tribunals, representing the multimillionaire trusts and there confronted with threats or cajoleries under whose influence they subsequently stood up in the halls of legislation and openly ate their own words.

Worse still was to follow. The President himself, moved by influences which no American would willingly name, publicly stultified himself, recanted the honest declarations in his message, and before the eyes of a wondering and shame-stricken world, executed a *volte-face* upon a question of prime constitutional importance. From being an advocate of the constitutional rights of Porto Rico, the President of the United States set up as an apologist of tariffs levied within the confines of the republic. The successor of Washington and Jefferson became an advocate of the odious doctrine that taxation may be levied without representation. The successor of Lincoln was heard to plead for one sort of law for the white man, another for the man whose skin is dark. A President of the United States was seen to shape his policy, not only in stultification of his own avowed principles and in violation of the Constitution as interpreted by himself, but also in obedience to influences of whose real character and origin no American is ignorant.

In this crisis for American liberty and self-government, the American

people spoke with no uncertain voice. Instantly and from every corner of the country, arose an all but universal protest. The popular indignation was confined to no party and no section of the country; for the moment all Americans were Democrats and spoke with one voice in protest against an obvious outrage upon popular government.

But the people spoke in vain. Influences which were powerful enough to force the President of the United States into so odious a position, and which could compel representatives in Congress shamelessly to abandon their avowed principles, proved to be more powerful than the expressed will of the people. The voice of the President was eventually added to the voice of those interests which demanded that the Constitution be overthrown and a tariff levied upon the Porto Rican trade. With his back to a justly incensed people, Mr. McKinley became the willing advocate of the trust demands. As such he employed all the power of his great office to cajole or coerce congressmen into sharing his own interests. "I voted for the Porto Rican tariff bill," wrote an Indiana congressman to his Republican constituents, "at the earnest solicitation of President McKinley and the leaders of the Republican party." Such was the experience of scores of honest representatives of the people; whose honesty, however, was no match to the imperious demands of a compact and ruthless money power.

Such a spectacle was never seen before in a free republic. But for the hope of a restoration to the people of the sovereignty thus openly wrested from their hands, it might be said that popular liberty in the United States then and there received its death blow.

The imperialistic purpose of the administration in pushing through the Porto Rican tariff bill was made only the more manifest in a "rider" added to that measure by the express official request of the President himself. In a special message to Congress on March 2, the President advocated the novel theory that a great political wrong can be righted by the substitution of charity for justice. He accordingly recommended that the two million dollars, up to that time collected on products coming from Porto Rico to the ports of the United States under the Dingley law, be created into a fund for the temporary relief of the islanders. A bill to this effect was rushed through and the Porto Ricans were further outraged by being made the recipients of charity from the hands which had shamelessly deprived them of their lawful rights.

But here again the chief sufferers from these unconstitutional acts

were not the faraway islanders upon whom they were perpetrated, but the people of the United States. Any act of injustice is reflected with greater force upon the person or the people by whom it is committed. As in the case of the Philippine islands, it was here evident that the purpose of the President as inspired by his new "guide, philosopher and friend," the money power, was really to release Congress from Constitutional limitations and to create in his own person a power higher than the Constitution, higher than any law. It would appear that this purpose was even present in the President's mind when he dictated that significant clause in the treaty at Paris which provides:

"That the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress."

Previous to this remarkable pronouncement, the status of treaty law had been supposed to rest upon Article 6, clause 2 of the Constitution of the United States, which declares that all treaties made under the authority of the United States shall be, together with the Constitution and the laws enacted in pursuance of it, the supreme law of the land.

But upon that clause in the Paris treaty a complacent committee of the United States Senate, working wholly, as it would appear, to carry out the purpose and instructions of the same interests that inspired the President, based the novel contention that the natives of Porto Rico had no civil or political rights which any American Congress may not override at will; that these unfortunates are wholly beyond the protection of the Constitution.

The newspaper organs of the President took up the fight in behalf of their (and his) chiefs, and presently the land resounded with noisy denials of all the maxims of government which had hitherto been accepted as fundamentally true. The people read with fresh astonishment impudent denials that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. "The Constitution does not follow the flag," these noisy advocates declared. It is within the power of Congress to levy taxes upon the Porto Ricans, although the Porto Ricans have no representation in the Congress. Such doctrine was brazenly avowed by the official successors of the men who had taken up arms against King George's army because they were taxed in a British Parliament in which they were denied representation.

It is not partisan zeal which speaks in these terms of this shameful

episode in our history. The Democracy appeals from the orgy of lawlessness lately perpetrated at Washington to these words of Chief Justice Marshall, uttered in the case of *Loughborough v. Blake* (15 Wheaton, 319), referring to the very question involved in the Porto Rican tariff bill:

"The power to lay and collect tax duties, imposts and excises may be exercised and must be exercised throughout the United States. Does this term designate the whole or any particular portion of the American empire? Certainly this question can admit of but one answer. It is the name given to our great republic. It is composed of States and Territories; the District of Columbia, or the territory west of the Missouri is not less within the United States than Maryland or Pennsylvania, and it is not less necessary on the principles of our Constitution that uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties and excises shall be observed in the one than in the other."

Only this last step in the course of imperialism was needed to awaken the American people to a sense of the danger with which their rights are confronted. The Democratic party from the beginning has pointed out that this war has been waged in pursuance of the policy of imperialism. Its political opponents had not hitherto fully recognized the truth of this contention. They had seen martial law prevailing under the American flag in the Philippines, but have regarded that condition as a temporary and necessary step to the establishment of a civil government in those islands. Many patriotic Americans have honestly believed that neither the Filipinos nor the Porto Ricans could be trusted immediately with a full measure of self-government, but few if any, have doubted until now that that blessing was soon to be accorded to these islanders under the terms of our agreement with them and in accordance with the spirit of the American Constitution.

Such dreams have been dispelled rudely by the Porto Rico tariff bill. The imperialistic character of that measure is not to be mistaken. It distinctly denies that the Constitutional guarantee of equal rights as to taxation. It makes the Congress superior to the Constitution and the President superior to the Congress. As to who and what interests are superior to the President, it leaves a wide field for inference. In a word, it definitely commits the Republican party by specific legislation to the policy of imperialism which the Democrats have charged against it from the beginning.

The revolt which has followed within the ranks of the Republican party, bodes no good for the permanence of that organization in the supreme power, but it promises nothing but good for the people, smarting under a sense of rights invaded and liberties outraged, for it means the speedy restoration to the Democracy of the power delegated to false servants.

The real purpose of the money power in creating this new empire with the President at its head and fastening an increased standing army upon the people to enforce its rule, has been manifested with startling emphasis in the recent struggle between organized labor and the plutocracy in the Coeur d'Alenes. The sequel to that unhappy conflict is still in progress, though the fact may be scarcely known, or if known almost forgotten, by the majority of the people. It has been a part of the policy of capitalism which precipitated the conflict to keep the voters in ignorance of the real facts. From April, 1899, when the first outbreak occurred, until the present day, an inspired press has belittled the affair, concealing or perverting all occurrences that could throw light upon the lawlessness of the capitalistic anarchists who own the mines, but dwelling with unconcealed delight upon the outbreaks of exasperated labor. Of the Press Associations the largest has been practically silent concerning an affair which in some important respects is the most vital that has occurred in America since the Civil War. Only one large newspaper sent a correspondent to the scene. There has seemed to be an almost universal conspiracy to suppress the truth. What is here written is the result of a personal visit by the writer to the district and a careful investigation of the facts, conducted with some difficulty in the face of obstacles imposed by the mine owners, but with no other desire than to learn the truth.

There is no disposition on the part of the Democracy to excuse the crime with which the Coeur d'Alene incident began. This was committed on April 29, 1899, when a body of 150 union miners at Burke, Idaho, seized a freight train and, joined by other miners at Mace, Gem and other points, proceeded to Wardner and blew up with dynamite the concentrator belonging to the consolidated Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine. The shooting of James Cheyne, which occurred during this riotous performance, is no more to be excused than the murder of any man. It was a disgraceful crime, committed in the name of organized labor, and dearly has organized labor paid for it.

Neither is this crime to be extenuated on account of the warrantable exasperation of the union miners at the time when it was committed. The Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine was at this time the only one in the district not employing union labor. It was a Standard Oil property, and its scale of wages was considerably less than that prevailing in the other mines. Pursuant to an agreement with its employes, these wages were finally raised to the union scale, but the mine owners made this increase the occasion for a fresh and unwarrantable attack upon the unions, and this conduct upon their part was the beginning of a quarrel which culminated eventually in the disgraceful scenes of April 29.

But neither the murder of Cheyne nor any other offense against the criminal law, can compare for atrocity, much less for the menace implied against public order and the supremacy of the law, with the manifold offenses since committed by the civil authorities of Idaho, abetted by the administration at Washington, backed up by the army of the United States and inspired throughout by the arrogant monopolists owning the mine. The Democracy has no apology for crime in any form, whether manslaughter or murder, or the overthrow of personal liberty and constitutional order by men in high positions and of great wealth. If one offense be more serious than the other, it is the latter, whose consequences are not to be measured by their immediate and personal influence, but extend throughout our whole system of government with effects which are felt for all time by all the people.

The story of the riot of militarism serving the ends of plutocracy, which ensued upon the events described, may be briefly told here, to many readers perhaps for the first time. On April 30 following the explosion, the rioters, having then dispersed, and the district being quiet, telegrams began to pour into Washington, asking, demanding of the President and the secretary of war and other officials that a military force be dispatched to the Coeur d'Alenes. The first of these messages came from D. O. Mills, an officer of the Standard Oil Company, resident in New York city. Others were sent by William S. Crocker, a San Francisco banker, and by various Chicago capitalists and mine owners. One was a personal appeal by wire to the President's secretary, asking him on the score of personal friendship to use his influence to have the army sent at once. None of these gentlemen was on the scene of the disorder he so eloquently described, or could possibly have had personal knowledge of the state of affairs which in his judgment called for instant interference by the mili-

tary. The district, as has been said, was already calm, but the governor of the State, Frank Steunenberg, contributed to the panic at Washington by telegraphing that an insurrection existed in Shoshone County beyond the power of the State to control. As a matter of fact, no insurrection, even constructively, existed, and if it had, the State authorities had by no means exhausted their resource for controlling it, as their oath of office required them to do before appealing to Washington for military aid.

The response from Washington was, of course, prompt and decisive. No appeal, reasonable or unreasonable, from citizens of this class, is ever made in vain to a Republican administration. President McKinley at once telegraphed to Gen. Merriam at Denver to proceed at once to the Coeur d'Alenes. By May 2 the troops began to arrive, the first command being a battalion of negroes. The soldiers began by arresting everybody found on the streets, including a school master and several traveling men. Troops were stationed at the mouth of all the mines and every miner was arrested as he came to the surface. No less than 1,300 men were thus gathered in and herded together in box cars, where for 24 hours they were detained under conditions which simply may not be described. Indeed the barbarity attending the incarceration of hundreds of men for months at a time in the now historic "bull-pen" surpasses the power of words to describe. Such cruelty could only have been inflicted by men well instructed in lawlessness from a higher authority.

But this was by no means the worst. No degree of physical suffering can compare with the outrages perpetrated in the name of law and upon every principle of personal liberty and constitutional right by the State authorities of Idaho, by Federal officers and by the military. The men arrested and herded in the "bull-pen" were never served with warrants, and after having been held for a period ranging from three weeks to eight months, hundreds of them were finally discharged without either acquittal or conviction, the whole proceedings have been utterly without warrant of law. They were denied a trial in a civil court with or without a jury. Finally, when they were set free in this lawless manner, they were required as a condition precedent to their liberation to renounce all connection, present or future, with the labor unions.

The law of Idaho on the subject of labor unions is explicit. It forbids any employer to discriminate in the hiring of men on account of union connections. It provides that all labor troubles must be settled if either party make requests by arbitration. This law has consistently been

violated by the owners of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine. It was now even more grossly violated by the governor of Idaho and his official associates and subordinates.

There seemed to be no limit to the conduct of these official anarchists. The habeas corpus was suspended by Governor Steunenberg, though, as has been held by the Supreme Court, that is a function of the legislative, not of the executive branch of government. The governor placed the district under control of a man named Sinclair, who, without color of authority, forthwith issued a proclamation declaring the miners' unions to be "criminal organizations" and compelling all the men incarcerated in the bull-pen to get a permit from Dr. Hugh France before they were set at liberty and permitted to ask for work. No permit was issued until the applicant had signed a written statement in which he made a written pledge not to connect himself with a labor union. At this distance it might be asked what union labor has to do with the execution of the law or with considerations of personal liberty, but such questions were not asked by the official law breakers in the Coeur d'Alene district. Such questions are not asked there to-day, for Gov. Steunenberg has expressly declared that his regime of anarchy is to continue in the Coeur d'Alene district while he remains in office for two years yet to come.

France, in whom this despotism was vested, is an employe of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine, which is perhaps a sufficient commentary on his appointment to such a position. He is also coroner of Shoshone County and, by appointment of the governor, acting sheriff, the regularly elected sheriff, together with three of the county commissioners having been arbitrarily removed from office by the governor for alleged failure to perform their duties. The people of the county who elected these officers had made no complaint of this character, but the governor simply declared that the people were not competent judges of their own affairs.

As coroner of the county, France held the inquest on the body of Cheyne. At this farcical trial another riot of lawlessness was enacted. The court-room was guarded by armed soldiers. The prisoners, if they may be so called, were not allowed to see counsel. Witnesses were brought from the bull-pen under guard of troops and threatened on the way with all sorts of violence if they refused to testify as they were asked.

The net result of all this perversion of the law was the conviction of one man on the charge of manslaughter and of eleven for riot. Their cases are now pending on appeal. Three men died in the bull-pen of dis-

ease induced by exposure and cruelty. One other, who went insane, escaped and flung himself into the river, was shot to death by the soldiers on the bank. His case was reported to the War Department by the commanding officer as one of "suicide." More than once troops were sent across the border into the adjacent State of Montana in pursuit of fugitive miners. The governor of Montana protested against this lawless procedure, but the invasions continued so long as any miners were suspected of being within the confines of Montana. Another characteristic proclamation by the Steunenberg anarchists was one forbidding the other mines in the district from employing men not bearing the Standard Oil certificate of their freedom from union affiliations. Not only were men forbidden to work when they wanted to work, but others were compelled against their will at the point of the bayonet to serve at the pumps of a mine which they had abandoned. Perhaps this is the only incident in the history of the United States where the military power has been employed to compel men in time of peace to perform labor against their will.

But as has been said, these personal outrages are insignificant in comparison to the wounds which have been inflicted in this riot of militarism upon the rights of the people as guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws. Three years ago, before the standard of empire was raised by the plutocracy, it would have been said that such outrages committed under color of authority, were impossible in a free country. No American then expected to see them perpetrated under the Stars and Stripes. The story is told here at length because it is a new and dreadfully alarming manifestation of the power which plutocracy can bring to its aid with a complacent administration at Washington to serve its will.

In its administration of the affairs of Cuba, the McKinley administration has given a foretaste of what imperialism means with the money power at the helm. It has been a riot of robbery and criminal extravagance from the start. The President's pet concessionaires have had a free hand with the revenues of the island for two years, with the result that the United States is now held up to the contempt of the world by the wholesale criminality of its high officials. Even the Cubans, accustomed for years to Spanish thievery, are aghast at the peculations lately discovered in the Post Office Department. The extent of these operations is not yet determined, but it is certain to reach into the millions.

Unhappily for the President, the chief culprit proves to be a valued political ally and adviser, an intimate friend and former business asso-

ciate of one of the chiefs in the Post Office Department at Washington, while the director of the Cuban Posts is an Ohio politician of great prominence, an appointee of Senator Hanna, of whose notorious campaign for re-election he was the manager. These connections, already known to the public, give only a hint as to what high place may be reached when the lines of corruption have been followed to their real source. The friends of honest government look for no assistance to this end from the present administration. True, the chief culprits in the Cuban Post Office robbery, so far as these have been discovered, have been removed from office and a pretended investigation is in progress. But there is no prospect that the whole truth will be made public before the November election. Indeed, Senator Bacon's eloquent plea for an official inquiry by Congress has already been contemptuously shelved in committee by the Republican leaders.

The same fate has attended all the efforts of the anti-imperialists in Congress to have the administration redeem the nation's pledge and give to Cuba a free and independent government. The imperialists have no intention of making good this solemn promise. Their friends, the syndicates and concessionaires, will not allow it. The interest of these worthies in the island is not one of theoretic justice, but of cold cash. Cuba is to them a field for financial exploitation, not for political experiment. The most valuable concession in the island, involving the control of the entire Cuban railroad system, now existing or to be built, is already in the possession of a Canadian-American syndicate made up of leading Republicans and bogus Democrats, whose relations with the administration are well known. They had influence enough at Washington to secure the reduction in the Cuban tariff of the schedule on railroad ties from 40 per cent to 10 per cent, a saving to the syndicate of \$400,000, which, of course, was taken from the revenues of the needy Cubans, besides being a direct violation of the principles on which the schedule was ostensibly drawn up. It now appears that the Commissioner of Customs, through whom this reduction was effected, a Republican politician of the highest standing and a distinguished advocate of high tariffs (for Americans) is now traveling in Europe in the interest of the same syndicate. This official drew \$500 a month from the government for his services in Cuba, which it would appear were rendered chiefly in the interest of the syndicate whose prosperity depends largely upon government for the exploitation of the Cubans.

Such affiliations as these show an intimate association or conspiracy existing between the imperialistic administration and the money interest. An absolute one-man power, backed by contempt for legal and constitutional restrictions and safeguards, becomes a powerful tool for the plutocracy. The sufferers are primarily the unlucky islanders in the "new colonies," but the good name and still more the integrity of this republic, the right and power of the people of the United States to govern themselves, suffer infinitely more. An expert accountant can trace the peculations of a thieving post office official at Havana and fasten upon him the ostensible guilt, but meanwhile the actual culprit is a great man at Washington, who has paid his shady political debts by the appointment of rascals to positions of trust and who himself may be the beneficiary of gigantic concessions, fraudulent contracts and other devices of corruption.

The Democracy will not be satisfied with the mere detection and punishment of the minor thieves. It demands that the whole conspiracy be laid bare and that this unholy alliance between imperialism and plutocracy be driven from power. Our armies invaded the islands with the pretended purpose of giving the Cubans self government in place of Spanish misrule. The Spaniards were driven out, but they have been replaced by an army of American cormorants, tax eaters and corruptionists. The civil list in Cuba for 1899 alone amounted to \$3,000,000, and thus far the best return which the Cubans have had for this enormous expenditure from their revenues has been an example of official thievery surpassing even their liberal views of corruption. No wonder that such of the islanders who have not been placated by office are plotting revolt against the American occupation or acquiesce but sullenly in the new regime.

It is perhaps but natural that the underlings of the administration should plunder and steal when the position in which the government has been placed by their superiors at Washington is one of utter falsehood and dishonesty. Mr. Spooner of Wisconsin, the President's apologist in the Senate for his Philippine policy, said in a speech before that body only the other day: "We propose to enforce the authority of this government in the islands to give that people honest, even-handed justice and good government. * * * We shall give them such share in the government as they show themselves fitted for. If the time come when the Filipinos show the ability to govern themselves, the American people

will give them self government." This consistent expression of the imperialistic policy is a far cry from the words of the first and greatest of Republican Presidents, Abraham Lincoln, who, in a speech at Chicago on July 10, 1858, had this to say on a very similar subject:

"The arguments that are made that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for the enslaving of the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments of kingcraft were always of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people; not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. Turn it any way you will, whether it come from the mouth of a king as an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of men of one race, it is all the same serpent."

"We are to 'bestow' the blessings of a good, a stable government upon them!" says the Rev. Herbert Bigelow, speaking of the McKinley policy. "Sir, we have been reared in the political faith that governments are derived and not bestowed. Tell the coolies of China; tell the fellaheen of Egypt, tell the pariahs of India that governments are bestowed upon them. But tell the president of the United States upon whom we have bestowed some limited power for a brief season, that such language is offensive to the American ear."

Great Britain is the trusted ally of the McKinley administration, a silent partner in all its imperialistic schemes, the model upon which its policy is formed. Secretary Hay has repeatedly denied that such an alliance exists. His denials are doubtless true as to a former treaty, for no such compact could be made without the assent of the Senate and notice to the people. But a mutual regard and admiration subsists between the imperialists of England and their servile friends and imitators at Washington. This has been revealed at every development of the McKinley policy. Our government may be sure of the cordial approval of England, or of any other monarchy, in all acts tending to the overthrow of democracy at home or abroad. The kings of Europe look with pleasure upon the spectacle of American armies in the Philippines repressing every attempt of the native population for self government, and using the form of a "benevolent protectorate" to exploit the Cubans,

or to exclude the trusting Porto Ricans from even the semblance of American citizenship.

We are told that this government is under no pledge or promise to set up the republican form in these islands, or to admit the West Indians to American citizenship. The assertion is false. Even if there were no such express promise—but there is—the traditions of this government, the spirit of its institutions, is a standing pledge to all humanity that in every struggle of the oppressed, every revolt against tyranny we, as Americans, shall be on the side of the people, not of the tyrant. On this subject, who so eloquent as John Hay in the days before he became inoculated with the poison of imperialism, while he was not yet a diplomat, but still a poet and a friend of the people? Here are his words:

“For all in vain will timorous ones assay
To set the metes and bounds of Liberty.
For Freedom is its own eternal law.
It makes its own conditions and in storm
Or calm alike fulfils the unerring will.
For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And, though thou slay us, we will trust in thee!”

CHAPTER V.

A RECORD OF INFAMY

It is interesting to place side by side the words now employed by President McKinley and his apologists in justification of his Philippine policy, with the famous words of King George III, of England, in his proclamation of 1776.

"That Congress will provide for them (the Filipinos) a government which will bring them blessings, which will promote their material interests, as well as advance their people in the paths of civilization and intelligence, I confidently believe," said Mr. McKinley in a speech at Minneapolis, Oct. 12, 1899.

"I am desirous," wrote the English monarch, "of restoring to them (American colonists) the blessings of law, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for the calamities of war, and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs."

Contrast also the President's pious (or impious) assumption of divine guidance in his imperialistic policy, with the records of the War Department at the beginning of the war. "The Philippines," said Major McKinley in a speech at Boston, Feb. 16, 1899, "like Cuba and Porto Rico, were entrusted to our hands by the Providence of God."

And again at Redfield, S. D., Oct. 14, 1899, "In the providence of God, who works in mysterious ways, this great archipelago was put into our lap."

But here are the instructions sent to Admiral (then Rear Admiral) Dewey by Theodore Roosevelt, assistant Secretary of the Navy, Feb. 25, 1898: "Secret and confidential. * * * Keep full of coal. In the event of declaration of war with Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast, and then offensive operations in Philippine Islands."

"There is every reason to believe," cabled Dewey from Hong Kong on March 31 following, "that, with Manila taken or even blockaded, the rest of the islands would fall to the insurgents or ourselves."

Equally interesting and even more important is the much debated question of our relations to Aguinaldo and his associates at the beginning

of the war and the obligations assumed on behalf of this government by our representatives. Here again the official records are conclusive. They show the existence of a clear and friendly understanding which has since been grossly violated under pretext of honorable warfare. The following extracts from Sea. Doc. 62 are in point:

"Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here, will come Hong Kong arrange with Commodore for general co-operation insurgents Manila if desired."

U. S. Consul-General Pratt, Singapore, to Commodore Dewey, Hong Kong, April 24, 1898. Senate Doc. 62, p. 342.

"Tell Aguinaldo to come soon as possible."

Commodore Dewey to Consul-General Pratt, April 24, 1898. Id. p. 342.

"General Aguinaldo gone my instance Hong Kong arrange with Dewey co-operation insurgents Manila."

Consul-General Pratt, to Secy. Day, April 27, 1898. Id. p. 341.

"Large supply of rifles should be taken for insurgent allies."

Consul Wildman, Hong Kong, May 19, 1898, to Secretary Day. Senate Doc. 62, p. 336.

"I have given him (Aguinaldo) to understand that I consider the insurgents as friends, being opposed to a *common enemy*. He has gone to attend a meeting of insurgent leaders for the purpose of forming a civil government. Aguinaldo has acted independently of the squadron, but has kept me advised of his progress, which has been wonderful. I have allowed to pass by water, recruits, arms and ammunition, and to take such Spanish arms and ammunition from the arsenal as he needed. Have advised frequently to conduct the war humanely, which he has done invariably."

Rear-Admiral Dewey to Secretary Long, June 27, 1898. Appendix Bureau Navigation Report, p. 103.

"General: * * * * I desire to have the most amicable relations with you, and to have you and your people co-operate with us in military operations against the Spanish forces."

Genl. Thomas M. Anderson to Aguinaldo, July 4, 1898. Senate Doc. 62, p. 390.

"General: The bearer, Maj. J. F. Bell, U. S. A., was sent by Maj. Gen. Wesley Merritt, U. S. A., to collect for him, by the time of his arrival, certain information concerning the topography of the country surrounding Manila. I would be obliged if you would permit him to see your maps and place at his disposal any information you may have on the above subjects, and also give him a letter or pass addressed to your subordinates which will authorize them to furnish him any information they can on these subjects, and to facilitate his passage along the lines upon a reconnaissance around Manila."

Genl. Thomas M. Anderson to Aguinaldo, July 19, 1898. Senate Doc. 62, p. 393.

"I came from Hong Kong to prevent my countrymen from making common cause with the Spanish against the North Americans."

Aguinaldo to Gen. Thomas M. Anderson, July 24, 1898. Senate Doc. 62, p. 394.

"General: When I came here three weeks ago I requested your excellency to give what assistance you could to procure means of transportation for the American Army, as it was to fight in the cause of your people. So far we have received no response. As you represent your people, I now have the honor to make requisition on you for 500 horses and 50 oxen and ox carts."

Gen. Anderson to Aguinaldo, July 23, 1898. Senate Doc. 62, p. 394.

"General: Replying to your letter of yesterday, I have the honor to manifest to your excellency that I am surprised beyond measure at that which you say to me in it, lamenting the non-receipt of any response relative to the needs (or aids) that you asked of me in the way of horses, buffaloes, and carts, because I replied in a precise manner, through the bearer, that I was disposed to give convenient orders whenever you advised me the number of these with due anticipation (notice).

"I have circulated orders in the provinces in the proximity that in the shortest time possible horses be brought for sale. * * * I have also ordered to be placed at my disposal 50 carts that I shall place at your disposition."

Aguinaldo to Gen. Thomas M. Anderson, July 24, 1898. Senate Doc. 62, p. 395.

"You ought to understand that without the long siege sustained by my forces you might have obtained possession of the ruins of the city, but never the surrender of the Spanish forces, who could have retired to the interior towns. * * * I do not complain of the disowning of our help in the mentioned capitulation, although justice resents it greatly, and I have to bear the well-founded blame of my people. * * * I hope that this time you will manifest the spirit of justice that pertains to such a free and admirably constituted government as that of the United States of America."

Emilio Aguinaldo to Genl. Merritt, August 27, 1898. Report of Genl. Otis, for 1899, p. 5. Senate Doc. 62, p. 403.

In reply to above by Genl. Otis, successor in command to Genl. Merritt, addressed to "*The Commanding General of the Philippine Forces*," dated September 8, 1898, occur these words:

"It only remains for me to respectfully notify you that I am compelled by my instructions to direct that your armed forces evacuate the entire city of Manila, including its suburbs and defenses, and that I shall be obliged to take action within a very short space of time should you decline to comply with my Government's demands (*that Aguinaldo surrender positions within suburbs and city of Manila captured by his forces during siege*); and I hereby serve notice on you that unless your troops are withdrawn beyond the line of the city's defenses before Thursday, the 15th instant, I shall be obliged to resort to forcible action, and that my government will hold you responsible for any unfortunate consequences which may ensue. * * * I have conferred freely with Admiral Dewey upon the contents of this communication, and am delegated by him to state that he fully approves of the same in all respects; that the commands of our government compel us to act as here indicated, and that between our respective forces there will be unanimity and complete concert of action."

Genl. Otis' Report, p. 9.

"Had it not been arranged for General Aguinaldo thus to co-operate with us, it is more than probable that he would have returned to the islands of his own accord and undertaken independent operations, which might, I fear, have caused us serious embarrassment."

Consul-General Pratt, Singapore, June 21, 1898, to Assistant Secretary Moore. Senate Doc. 62, p. 356.

"The United States Government, through its naval commander, has to some extent made use of them for a distinct military purpose, viz., to harass and annoy the Spanish troops, to wear them out in the trenches, to blockade Manila on the land side, and to do as much damage as possible to the Spanish government prior to the arrival of our troops; and for this purpose the admiral allowed them to take arms and munitions which he had captured at Cavite, and their ships to pass in and out of Manila Bay in their expeditions against other provinces."

F. V. Greene, Major-General U. S. V., before Peace Commission at Paris, August 30, 1890. Senate Doc. 62, p. 424.

"Mr. Freye: * * * Suppose the United States in the progress of that war found the leader of the present Philippine rebellion an exile from his country in Hong Kong and sent for him and brought him to the islands in an American ship, and then furnished him 4,000 or 5,000 stands of arms, and allowed him to purchase as many more stands of arms in Hong Kong, and accepted his aid in conquering Luzon, what kind of a nation in the eyes of the world, would we appear to be to surrender Aguinaldo and his insurgents to Spain to be dealt with as they please?

"A. (Commander Bradford). We became responsible for everything he has done. He is our ally, and we are bound to protect him."

Statement of Commander B. B. Bradford, U. S. Navy, October 14, 1898, before Peace Commissioner at Paris. Senate Doc. 69, p. 488.

"For a hundred years," said ex-Attorney-General Harmon in his speech of farewell to Commissioner Taft, at Cincinnati, last March, "we had to content ourselves with words of sympathy for peoples struggling, as we once struggled, for freedom and independence. Here for the first time an opportunity came to help in such a struggle without breaking our settled policy. We joined ranks with the native patriots against a common enemy. Whether any one made, or was authorized to make, promises to them is of no consequence. Our history and principles are a perpetual promise; and no one will deny that when the Filipinos joined forces with us they believed, and we knew they believed, that success would mean the fulfillment of their hopes. We should have resented a request for a promise that we would not do beyond the seas what we had pledged ourselves not to do at our own shores. No American can truly say that during the struggle he had any other idea. If anybody then as-

sumed to sit in judgment on the fitness of others to have rights which we hold to be inalienable, nobody dreamed of questioning the fitness for freedom and independence of men, who to gain them, had risked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor."

"A republic is organized here as in Cuba," wrote our Consul Mr. Williams, from Manila, to the State Department, Feb. 22, 1898. "General Aguinaldo's policy embraces the independence of the Philippines," the Singapore "Free Press" said on May 5 following in an article which Consul-General Pratt forwarded to Judge Day, Secretary of State. "American protection would be desirable temporarily on the same lines as that which might be instituted hereafter in Cuba."

It cannot be pretended that our government has acted blindly or without knowledge of the facts.

"I wish to put myself on record," wrote Consul Wildman to Secretary Day in July, 1898, "as stating that the insurgent government of the Philippines cannot be dealt with as though they were North American Indians, willing to be removed from one reservation to another at the whim of their masters."

As for Aguinaldo, his understanding of the *status* is sufficiently expressed in the proclamation he issued at Cavite, May 24, 1898:

"*Filipinos*: The great nation, North America, cradle of true liberty, and friendly on that account to the liberty of our people, * * * has come to manifest even here a protection which is decisive as well as disinterested toward us, considering us endowed with sufficient civilization to govern by ourselves this our unhappy land. * * * I have proclaimed in the face of the whole world that the aspiration of my whole life, the final object of all my efforts and strength, is nothing else but your independence, for I am fully convinced that that constitutes your constant desire, and that independence signifies for us redemption from slavery and tyranny, regaining our liberty, and entrance into the concert of civilized nations."

General Thomas M. Anderson, in the "North American Review" for February, 1900, has stated the case with unmistakable clearness.

"Whether Admiral Dewey and Consuls Pratt, Wildman and Williams

did or did not give Aguinaldo assurance that a Filipino government would be recognized (writes the General), the Filipinos certainly thought so, probably inferring this from their acts rather than their statements. If an incipient rebellion was already in progress, what could be inferred from the fact that Aguinaldo and thirteen other banished Tagals were brought down on a naval vessel and landed at Cavite? Admiral Dewey gave them arms and ammunition, as I did subsequently at his request. They were permitted to gather up a lot of arms which the Spaniards had thrown into the bay. * * * A few days thereafter (July 1, 1898), he (Aguinaldo) made an official call, coming with cabinet and staff and a band of music. * * * He asked if we, the North Americans, as he called us, intended to hold the Philippines as dependencies. I said I could not answer that, but that in one hundred and twenty years we had established no colonies. He then made this remarkable statement:

"I have studied attentively the Constitution of the United States, and I find in it no authority for colonies and I have no fear."

"It may seem that my answer was somewhat evasive, but I was at the time trying to contract with the Filipinos for horses, carts, fuel and forage."

And in the Chicago Record, Feb. 24, 1900, General Anderson further says:

"Every American citizen who came in contact with Filipinos at the inception of the Spanish war, or at any time within a few months after hostilities began, probably told those he may have talked with on the subject that we intend to free them from Spanish oppression. And here came in a natural misconception and misunderstanding. * * * To Aguinaldo and his immediate followers it meant that the United States would recognize any government he and his followers might set up. It must be remembered that, two years before, Aguinaldo had been the leader in a rebellion the object of which was to set up an independent Filipino government. The Filipino people, in a vague way, had the same anticipation, for it must be understood that while Aguinaldo is to us a very ordinary man of flesh and blood, he is to his countrymen an ideal. He is a long-expected Moses to lead them out of the house of bondage.

"We next find him (Aguinaldo) on board the Olympia in Manila bay interviewing the Admiral to ascertain if he authorized all the promises

made in his name by the captain of the Petrel and the two consuls. Receiving satisfactory assurance, he proceeded naively to say that the Junta in Hong Kong, even then, suspected that after whipping the Spaniards we would refuse them independence. The Admiral assured him that we were honorable, and, having plenty of land, desired no colonies. Aguinaldo is mistaken in attributing this remark to the Admiral. I must plead guilty to this Delphic utterance at a subsequent interview."

There are official records also to disprove the belated pretense that the present war with the Filipinos was forced upon our armies by the islanders themselves. General Otis had no such conception of the facts, at least until he had been duly "instructed from Washington." In his report (p. 66 et seq.) the General says:

"After fully considering the President's proclamation (of December 21, 1898), and the temper of the Tagalos with whom I was daily discussing political problems and the friendly intentions of the United States Government towards them, I concluded that there were certain words and expressions therein such as 'sovereignty,' 'right of cession,' and those which directed immediate occupation, etc., though most admirably employed, and tersely expressive of actual conditions, might be advantageously used by the Tagalo war party to incite widespread hostilities among the natives. The ignorant classes had been taught to believe that certain words, as 'sovereignty,' 'protection,' etc., had peculiar meaning disastrous to their welfare and significant of future political domination, like that from which they had recently been freed. It was my opinion, therefore, that I would be justified in so amending the paper that the beneficent object of the United States Government would be brought clearly within the comprehension of the people, and this conclusion was the more readily reached because of the radical change of the past few days in the constitution of Aguinaldo's government, which could not have been understood at Washington at the time the proclamation was prepared. * * * Aguinaldo met the proclamation by a counter one in which he indignantly protested against the claim of sovereignty by the United States in the islands, which really had been conquered from the Spaniards through the blood and treasure of his countrymen, and abused me for my assumption of the title of military governor. Even the women of Cavite province, in a document numerously signed by them, gave me to understand that after all the men are killed off they are prepared to shed

their patriotic blood for the liberty and independence of their country.
* * * The result was our picket discharged his piece, when the insurgent troops near Santa Mesa opened a spirited fire on our troops there stationed. The engagement was one strictly defensive on the part of the insurgents and of vigorous attack by our forces." (February 4, 1899.)

The imperialists have made a systematic attempt to blacken the character of Aguinaldo and his associates, branding them as mercenaries who took bribes from both sides. "The United States pays no gold for peace," said President McKinley with a fine show of indignation in a speech at Fargo, N. D., Oct. 8, 1899. "The leaders of the insurgent forces say to the American Government: 'You can have peace if you will give us independence,' he says. He had another price than that for peace once before."

It is difficult to learn what may be the basis of this charge. President Schurman, of the Philippine commission, says that Aguinaldo rejected with scorn an offer to take \$5,000 a year and become governor of the Tagals.

"It has been said," declared Consul Williams in a communication to the State Department, July 18, 1898, "that they sold their country for gold, but this has been conclusively disproved, not only by their own statements, but by the speech of the late Governor-General Riviera in the Spanish Senate, June 11, 1898. He said that Aguinaldo undertook to submit if the Spanish government would give a certain sum to the widows and orphans of the insurgents. He then admits that only a tenth part of this sum was ever given to Aguinaldo, and that the other promises made he did not find it expedient to keep.

"I was in Hong Kong September, 1897, when Aguinaldo and his leaders arrived under contract with the Spanish government. They waited until the first of November for the payment of the promised money and the fulfilment of the promised reforms. Only \$400,000 Mexican, was ever placed to their credit in the banks."

Indeed the policy of the imperialists, as exemplified by the McKinley policy in the Philippines has never been described better than by Mr. Schurman, when he said in a speech at Chicago, on Washington's birthday, 1900:

"I must say a word about the jingoes (imperialists). Now the jingoes are a sect who hold that everything is ours that we can lay our hands on; and that other people have no rights which we need respect. Their philosophy of the Philippine question is exceedingly simple. It is this: Greed in their hearts, gold in the Philippines, and God in heaven to satisfy the appetite with its desired object. The inhabitants of the archipelago, of whom there are some 8,000,000, never enter into their calculations, or if they do it is simply as material for exploitation or food for bullets. Eight million Filipinos with no legal or moral rights that we need to consider! Eight million immortal souls to be treated as mere chattels! Yet this is the gospel of the jingoes. * * * The American people will in due time punish them for their infamy."

The Democracy shares Mr. Schurman's confidence in the ultimate justice of the American people. The advocates of the might vs. right policy will be punished by removal from power and consigned to lasting obloquy. What Edmund Burke said of the British Tories in 1775 is no less true of those Tories of 1900:

"In order to prove that they have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavoring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of our own. To prove that they ought not be free, we are obliged to depreciate the value of freedom itself; and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over them in debate without attacking some of those principles or deriding some of those feelings for which our ancestors have shed their blood. * * * All dread of a standing military force is looked upon as a superstitious panic. We grow indifferent to the consequences inevitable to ourselves from the plan of ruling half the world by a mercenary sword. * * * Between craft and credulity the voice of reason is stifled, and all the misconduct, all the calamities of war, are continued. * * * The use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered. * * * You will never see any revenue from these colonies. Some increase of the means of corruption, without ease to the public burdens, is the very best that can happen. Is it for this we are at war, and in such a war? Have any of those gentlemen who are so eager to govern all mankind shown themselves possessed of the first qualities toward government, some knowledge of the object and the difficulties which occur in the task they have undertaken?"

CHAPTER VI.

A REPUBLICAN ANTI-IMPERIALIST

When Senator George Frisbie Hoar, of Massachusetts, ventured to speak his mind on the question of the President's Philippine policy he was assailed by his party associates with all the bitterness of vituperation that imperialism has in store for those who dare to oppose it. Among others, former Representative Lemuel Eli Quigg, of New York, ventured to intimate in a public speech that the venerable Senator from Massachusetts would have the nation "skulk its duty." Mr. Hoar honored Mr. Quigg with the following reply, which was sent to the press:

*To the Editors of the Journal, Advertiser, Herald and Globe,
Boston, Mass.*

Gentlemen. Will you give me space in your columns to answer a very serious attack which, I believe, all of you have published? At a meeting of the Essex Club last Saturday, Mr. Quigg, lately a Republican member of Congress from New York, after some undeserved compliment, made this statement, referring to me:

What he wants us to do I can define in no other words than these: "He wants us to skulk from our duty."

I wish to put against this statement my emphatic denial. What I wanted the American people to do in the beginning, what I have wanted them to do all along, what I want them to do now it to do in the Philippines exactly what we have done, are doing, and expect to do in Cuba.

If we have skulked in Cuba, then Mr. Quigg may be justified in saying that I would skulk in the Philippines. We have liberated both from Spain, and we have no thought—at least, I have had no thought—of giving either back to Spain. I should as soon give back a redeemed soul to satan as give back the people of the Philippine Islands to the cruelty and tyranny of Spain.

Indeed, since they got arms, an army and an organization, I do not believe it would have been in the power of Spain to subdue them again.

But the United States never, in my judgment, should have allowed her to make the attempt. Having delivered them from Spain, we were

bound in all honor to protect their newly acquired liberty against the ambition or greed of any other nation on earth, and we were equally bound to protect them against our own. We were bound to stand by them, a defender and protector, until their new governments were established in freedom and in honor; until they had made treaties with the powers of the earth and were as secure in their national independence as Switzerland is secure, as Denmark is secure, as Belgium is secure, as San Domingo or Venezuela is secure.

Now, if this be a policy of skulking from duty, I fail to see it. Perhaps I am not so familiar with the history or the vocabulary of liberty as Mr. Quigg.

Perhaps they understand these things better in New York City than we do in Massachusetts. Perhaps Mr. Quigg is a better counselor than I am to the representatives of the county of George Cabot, of Glover, of Whittier, of Nathan Dane and of Robert Rantoul. But, at any rate, the policy which I have stated seems to me the true American policy; the counsel which I have feebly recited is the best I have to give.

We based our policy in regard to Cuba (did we not?) on the ground that it was the policy of righteousness and liberty. We did not tempt the cupidity of any millionaire or even the honest desire for employment of any workmen, by the argument that if we reduced the people of Cuba to our dominion we could make money out of her and she could not help herself.

In those days we were appealing to the great, noble heart of America and not to the breeches-pocket.

I differ from Mr. Quigg both as to principles and as to facts. If we were bound in honor and in righteousness, bound by the history of our own past, bound by the principles and pledges of our people to abstain from depriving Cuba of the liberty we had given her because it was right, we are, in my judgment, all the more bound to abstain from depriving the people of the Philippine Islands of their liberties because it is right.

If I am right in affirming this as a matter of principle (and I am a little curious to see who will stand up and dispute it on Massachusetts soil, or who will speak any other doctrine to the sons of Essex), then the question becomes a question of fact.

Are the people of the Philippine Islands as well entitled to their freedom and independence as the people of Cuba?

Had they contributed as much to achieving their independence as had the people of Cuba?

Do they desire their independence as do the people of Cuba?

Are they fit to govern themselves as are the people of Cuba?

Have they forfeited their right to their independence by any misconduct, such as attacking the army of the United States wantonly and without provocation?

Now the facts which enable us to answer all of these questions, about which the people have been so much misled during the last summer, come to us at length from the reports of the commanders of our army and navy in the Philippine Islands. I have two witnesses to call, Otis and Dewey. While I may not adopt all their conclusions as to policy (and it is not the special business of soldiers and sailors to determine the policies of the country), I have no desire to go beyond them and the men for whom they vouch in the matter of fact.

But before citing the evidence, let me state what I would do today, as I have stated what I desired to do before the war broke out. The Philippine armies are scattered. General Lawton said they were the bravest men he had ever seen. But they had been beaten in every battle. Aguinaldo is a fugitive and in concealment. They are in the condition that Spain was in after Napoleon had overthrown her navies and driven out her king at the beginning of the Peninsular War, with a

* * * host as huge and strong as e'er defied
Their God and placed their trust in human pride.

Whether they will repeat the history of Spain, dispersing like foam when they are attacked, coming together again like the thunder cloud, and in the end wear out the patience of the conqueror, it is not worth while to speculate.

It is not from any fear of any foeman, powerful or insignificant, that the American people are to determine their duty.

If the thing be right, they mean to do it. If it be wrong, they will not do it. I would send General Wood or General Miles or Admiral Dewey to Luzon. I would have him gather about him a cabinet of the best men among the Filipinos who have the confidence of the people and desire nothing but their welfare. In all provinces and municipalities where civil government is now established possessing the confidence of the people, I would consult with their rulers and representatives.

I would lend the aid of the army of the United States only to keep order. I would permit the people to make laws and to administer laws, subject to some supervision or inspection till the disturbed times are over and peace has settled down again upon that country, insuring the security of the people against avarice, ambition or speculation. So soon as it seems that government can maintain itself peacefully and in order, I would by degrees withdraw the authority of the United States, making a treaty with them that we would protect them against the cupidity of any other nation and would lend our aid for a reasonable time to maintain order and law.

I would not hesitate, if it were needful, although I have not the slightest belief that it would be needful, to vote to make them a loan of a moderate sum to replenish their wasted treasury.

Now if this be skulking, if this be ignoble, if this be unworthy of an American citizen or a Massachusetts Senator, then I must plead guilty to Mr. Quigg's charge. But these are the things I would have done, and this is the thing I would do now.

If this counsel had been followed, not a man would have died on either side; not a drop of blood would have been spilled, not a recruit would have been needed by army or navy since the day when Manila capitulated to Otis. Nearly all of the thirty-six war vessels, with their five thousand or six thousand men, could have been ordered home more than a year ago. Our army there, greater than that with which Lee defended his lines so long; greater than that which Sherman led to the sea; greater than our armies of the Revolution or of the war of 1812, would all have come home, except a small garrison.

I have carefully read Dewey's dispatches, including the testimony of two naval officers, whom he sent on a two months' tour through Luzon, before the conflict between our troops and those of Aguinaldo, which, under his own signature, he declared to be the best statement of the condition of things there that has been made. I have read many of the dispatches of General Otis. A few of these have been published. Some of them have, so far, been withheld from public knowledge. They establish beyond reasonable doubt, clearly:

One. That Aguinaldo is an honest, patriotic, and brave man. Indeed, that is the express testimony of Mr. Schurman, president of Cornell University, and president of the commission appointed by our government to investigate matters there.

Two. That Aguinaldo was the chosen leader of the people of the Philippine Islands.

Three. That that people have from the beginning desired independence, and desire it now.

Four. That this desire was communicated to our commanders when they gave them arms, accepted their aid, and brought Aguinaldo from his exile when he was put in command of thirty thousand Filipino soldiers, who were already in arms and organized.

Five. That the people of the Philippine Islands, before we fired upon their troops, had delivered their own land from Spain, with the single exception of the town of Manila, and that they hemmed in the Spanish troops on land by a line extending from water to water.

Six. That we could not have captured the Spanish garrison, which was done by an agreement beforehand, upon a mere show of resistance, but for the fact that they were so hemmed in by Aguinaldo's forces and could not retreat beyond the range and fire of the guns of our fleet.

Seven. That during all this period from the beginning to the final conflict the Filipinos were repeatedly informing our government, not only by communications addressed to the commanders on land and sea, but by those addressed to the President of the United States, that they desired their freedom, and that they were never informed of any purpose on our part to subdue them.

Eight. That they were fit for independence. They had churches, libraries, works of art and education. They were better educated than many American communities within the memory of some of us. They were eager and ambitious to learn. They were governing their entire island, except Manila, in order and quiet, with municipal governments, courts of justice, schools and a complete constitution resting upon the consent of the people. They were better fitted for self-government than any country on the American continent south of us, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn; or than San Domingo or Hayti, when these countries, respectively, achieved their independence, and are fitter for self-government than some of them are now. They are now as fit for self-government as was Japan when she was welcomed into the family of nations.

Nine. That the outbreak of hostilities was not their fault, but ours. A patrol, not a hostile military force, approached a small village between the lines of the two armies; a village on the American side of the line of demarcation, to which some of our soldiers had been moved in disregard

of the rule applicable to all cases of truce. When this patrol approached this town it was challenged. How far the Filipinos understood our language, or how far our pickets understood the reply that they made in their own language, does not appear. But we fired upon them first. The fire was returned from their lines. Thereupon it was returned again from us, and several Filipinos were killed. As soon as Aguinaldo heard of it, he sent a message to General Otis, saying that the firing was without his knowledge and against his will; that he deplored it, and that he desired hostilities to cease, and would withdraw his troops to any distance General Otis should desire. To which the American general replied that, as the fighting had begun, it must go on.

Now how absurd for the persons who could have stopped it at any time from the beginning with a single word of assurance that they meant to respect the liberties of the people of the Philippine Islands, to charge the men who had been constantly begging them to say that word with being responsible for the continuance of the war.

Ten. That on December 28, 1898, the two sides being at peace, although great uneasiness and irritation had already manifested itself on the part of the Filipinos, who were afraid we meant to subjugate them, President McKinley sent to Otis a proclamation. Remember that a dozen times during the spring and summer and autumn Aguinaldo had proclaimed that his people were seeking their independence, and had implored the "great American people, by all their great history and traditions," with which he appears to have been quite familiar, not to interfere with it.

Now, on December 28, 1898, the President sent to Otis a proclamation, which he commanded him to issue. Otis, on reading it, to use the language of his report:

"After fully considering the President's proclamation and the temper of the Tagalos with whom I was in daily discussion of political problems and the friendly intentions of the United States government toward them, I concluded that there were certain words and expressions therein, such as 'sovereignty,' 'right of cession,' and those which directed immediate occupation, etc., though most admirably employed and tersely expressive of actual conditions, might be advantageously used by the Tagalo war party to incite widespread hostilities among the natives. The ignorant classes had been taught to believe that certain words, as 'sovereignty,' 'protection,' etc., had peculiar meaning disastrous to their welfare and significant of future political domination."

The ignorant people of America have been taught to believe just such things. I have seen such things in the writings of Washington and Adams and Jefferson, of Whittier and Garrison and Nathan Dane and Rantoul and others of the men of Essex. Now Otis goes on to say:

"It was my opinion, therefore, that I would be justified in so amending the paper that the beneficent object of the United States government would be brought clearly within the comprehension of the people."

Whereupon Otis proceeds to amend the President's proclamation by striking out everything in it which contains a purpose to assume sovereignty or protection, and which was significant of future political domination; and instead thereof he issued, on January 4, 1899, less than eight weeks before the outbreak of hostilities, a proclamation which he gives in a report, in which he suppressed all these utterances, and assures them that it is the purpose of the people of the United States to give them, "in every possible way, the full measure of individual rights and liberty which is the heritage of a free people." And he adds:

"I am convinced that it is the intention of the United States government to seek the establishment of a most liberal government for the islands, in which the people themselves shall have as full representation as the maintenance of law and order will permit, and which shall be susceptible of development, on the lines of increased representation and the bestowal of increased powers, into a government as free and independent as is enjoyed by the most favored provinces of the world."

That assurance which Otis gave to the people of Manila is just what I have always wanted, and all I have always wanted, to give them. But, unhappily, Otis' proclamation was frustrated. In the meantime, he had sent a copy of the President's proclamation to Miller, who was lying opposite Iloilo, burning for a fight, and who, much to Otis' distress, as his dispatches show, published it. So you had the commanding general denying all purposes of domination or of interfering with their independence, on the one hand, and the President of the United States, on the other, asserting that purpose; and the Filipinos were naturally alarmed and shocked.

Otis goes on to tell how Aguinaldo appealed to his people to stand by their independence, how the Filipino newspapers took it up in angry articles, and how the people who were beginning to be pacified and hopeful, were excited again, and justly.

Now put yourselves, men of Essex, in the places of these people. What would have your fathers done if Gage and Lord North had been the actors? What would any people on the face of the earth, whose bosoms are capable of holding the sentiment of liberty, have done?

Is it not infamous for anybody to turn around and tell you that the men who believe that the Filipinos should have been assured just what Otis tried to assure them of, are responsible for the outbreak of the war? Otis says that the proclamation which actually came out, through Miller's departure from his intentions, was calculated to cause, and did cause, the hostilities and excite alarm and indignation in the bosoms of that freedom-seeking people.

I do not know what other men may think, or what other men may say, but there is not a drop of blood in my veins, there is not a feeling in my heart that does not respect a weak people struggling with a strong one.

Some of our friends tell us that the Filipinos are not a people. President McKinley says they are, and that he desires "in every possible way to insure them the full measure of their individual rights and liberty which is the heritage of a free people." Otis says they are and that it is the intention of the United States government to appoint the representative men of the Philippine Islands to civil positions of trust in a government as "free and independent as is enjoyed by the most favored provinces of the earth."

When Patrick Henry was making his great speech in the old court house in Virginia, ending with the words, "Give me liberty or give me death," he was interrupted by somebody with a shout of "treason." He finished his sentence and replied, as every Essex schoolboy knows, "If this be treason, make the most of it." I am unworthy to loose the latchet of the shoes of Patrick Henry. But I claim to love human liberty as well as he did; and I believe the love of human liberty will never be held to be treason by Massachusetts.

There were five of my name and blood who stood in arms at Concord bridge in the morning of the revolution, April 19, 1775. My grandfather stood with John Adams and Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin when they presented to the Continental Congress that great paper, the bringing in of which was the foremost action of human history which declares that the just powers of government rest upon the consent of the people, and that when a people desire it the laws of nature and the laws

of God entitle them to take a separate and equal station among the nations of the earth.

And these Filipinos, as President McKinley says, and as Otis says, "are a people," and so entitled to be independent.

I have no right to feel any peculiar pride in the action of any ancestor of my own in those great days which tried men's souls, and when all true Americans thought in that way, although I should be disgraced and ought to hide my head from the gaze of men if I were to depart from those principles. But I have a right to feel a just pride in and to boast of something much higher than my personal kindred. I am a son of Massachusetts. For more than three score years and ten I have sat at her dear feet. I have seen the light of her beautiful eyes. I have heard high counsel from her lips. She has taught me to love liberty; to stand by the weak against the strong when the rights of the weak are in peril; she has led me to believe that if I do this, however humbly, however imperfectly, and whatever other men may say, I shall have her approbation and shall be deemed not unworthy of her love. Other men will do as they please. But as for me, God helping me, I can do no otherwise.

I am faithfully yours,

GEO. F. HOAR.

CHAPTER VII.

TRUSTS AND THE DEMOCRACY

The National Convention at Chicago in 1896 adopted this platform as embodying the doctrine of the Democracy on "Trusts and Pools":

"The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems and the formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission and such restriction and guarantees in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression."

This is a sufficient statement of Democratic principles as applied to the industrial problem existing four years ago. Nor is it wholly inadequate to the situation as it exists to-day. The enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission is one of the principal remedies suggested by the Industrial Commission appointed by act of Congress in June, 1898, and it is conceded by all thoughtful men that the due restraint of railroads is one of the first steps to be taken toward the restriction of the trust evil.

But the past four years have been years of swift, industrial and economic change. The consolidation of railroads, though not a movement of recent origin, has proceeded with greater rapidity and upon a larger scale than ever before. The Vanderbilt and Pennsylvania systems have recently gone far beyond their original territory and are now in control of the fortunes of tens of thousands of workingmen and their families and the welfare of entire communities which four years ago knew those organizations only by their names. The centripetal movement is still in progress, at a rate which has caused thinking men to ask how soon all the great trunk roads of the continent, all the trans-Atlantic, lake and river steamship lines may be operated from a single office in Wall street.

The recent "absorption of wealth by the few" is well exemplified in the cases of the Carnegie Steel Company and the Standard Oil Trust. A quarrel between the owners of the former organization has lately brought to public view the interesting fact that Andrew Carnegie who came to America in his youth as a Scottish immigrant with empty pockets, now

owns the majority interest in a business valued on the London market at more than half a billion dollars. The Standard Oil Trust between January 1st and May 1st, of the present year, has declared \$30,000,000 of dividends upon its \$110,000,000 of stock. Of this egregious income the share drawn by Mr. Rockefeller, president of the trust, amounts to \$100,000 a day. This from his Standard Oil interests alone, but one item of his incalculable wealth. All the sources of this man's revenue are known only to himself, but he is avowedly a large owner of the so-called American Steamship Company (subsidized); of fleets of vessels upon the great lakes, carrying iron ore from his own mines to his own steel mills; of immense interests in the copper and lead trusts; of a controlling share in at least one great railroad system; of several universities and of the new \$10,000,000 National City Bank in New York, which lately purchased for \$3,260,000 the United States Custom House property in that city, with Mr. McKinley's Secretary of the Treasury thrown in to bind the bargain. No accurate estimate of such a fortune is possible; but there can be no exaggeration in saying that this favored son of special privilege and class legislation is by far the richest man that lives or ever has lived in America or any other country.

Mr. Rockefeller is the prototype of trustmen and the arch-multi-millionaire; the final flower of the new "high finance." But neither he nor his trust is unique. The Goulds, the Vanderbilts, the Whitneys, to say nothing of several of his immediate associates in the Standard Oil trust, follow Rockefeller at a respectable distance in point of individual wealth. As to the other "industrial combinations," the Whisky Trust is capitalized at \$125,000,000; the Anthracite Coal Trust at \$150,000,000; the Federal Steel Trust at \$200,000,000; its friendly competitor, the American Steel and Wire Trust at \$90,000,000; the Copper Trust at \$75,000,000,000; the Hide and Leather Trust at \$60,000,000; and there are a whole brood of others which seem small only by comparison with these giants of the new finance. It will at once be seen that when the Chicago platform warned the people against the dangers of "absorption of wealth by the few" its Democratic authors had a truly prophetic sense of the immediate economic perils of the republic.

This unprecedented aggregation of wealth belongs to the few years which will be known to posterity as the trust epoch in our history as a nation. The economic movement which has resulted in the absorption of so many industries in the form of trusts, belongs in great part to the

period immediately following the late war with Spain. Indeed it may be regarded as the logical outcome of the spirit which animated the money world and its complacent tool, the McKinley administration, during the latter part of that conflict. There had been trusts before. The Standard Oil trust was formed in 1882; the Sugar trust, the Whisky trust, the Anthracite Coal trust, to say nothing of the railroad pools and combinations, were well established in our economic system before the dawn of this new era. But the great majority of these new industrial combinations have been formed within the past two years.

The word "trust" itself, to which the trustmen so strenuously object, is no longer a strictly accurate definition of these combinations. The original trusts were so-called by reason of the legal (or rather illegal) form under which they were organized. The shareholders of various enterprises assigned their shares to one trustee, taking trust certificates in exchange therefor and in lieu of ordinary profits. Such was the original "trust." It no longer exists, because it has been declared unlawful, but the name still survives in the popular mind and doubtless will continue. If it has become odious and a term of reproach, the trustmen themselves best know the reason why.

The present trusts are simply huge corporations formed by merging a number of smaller corporations or firms. The special requirements of this particular form of high finance have given a new conspicuity to the States of New Jersey, Delaware and West Virginia. When it was found impossible under existing laws to perfect this form of organization in manner necessary for purposes of monopoly, these commonwealths came to the front with special legislation, calculated to make the way of the trust organizer easy and his expenses light. Thus it has come to pass that a large majority of trusts in the United States are organized under the laws of New Jersey (which was first in the field), and that State applies the pieces of silver for which it has sold its honor to the payment of its current expenses. Nor is it without interest that the State of New Jersey, the home of Mr. McKinley's running mate, the late Vice-President Hobart, is the commonwealth which the President has honored above all others in the bestowal of offices of high trust and emolument.

At the close of the war with Spain the "war spirit" of plunder and adventure was in the air. The money power with good reason felt surer than ever that it could control legislation and shape the administration to its purposes. A combination of financial events had released a large

amount of capital for investment in any securities bearing on their face even a tolerable guarantee of soundness. At this juncture the Promoter took the field. The Promoter is a new character in finance and deserving of the greater attention, because to him is largely due the present importance of the trust problem. It was he who discovered the new "trust idea" which in brief is this: If all the factories producing a given line of goods unite under one convenient corporate charter, they can enjoy a monopoly and all that that implies, fix the price both of their products and of the raw material; regulate wages; reduce the expense of distribution, sale and advertising; dismantle "superfluous" plants and discharge "unnecessary" labor; control the field of consumption, and in a word realize in the aggregate much greater profits than all together could possibly earn as individuals. Finally, the Promoter pointed out that in these pleasant circumstances it would be possible to issue an amount of stock practically unlimited, and to place this stock with a confiding public, at that time only too eager for investments of almost any character. Of course the Promoter himself was not working for his health. He expected a reward for his services, but would obligingly take it from this over-issue of the stock.

The manner of the Promoter's procedure may best be illustrated by a single instance. The American Writing Paper Company, consolidated into a trust of twenty-seven plants, with options on several smaller ones. The twenty-seven mills cost the Promoter not much more than \$7,000,000, and the former owners considered that at this figure they were getting fancy prices for their property, else presumably they would not have sold. A reasonable cash value for the mills, including the good will, may possibly have reached \$5,000,000. The trust was floated upon a capitalization of \$42,000,000, rather more than six times the value of plants as fixed by the enthusiastic Promoter. This capital was made up of \$17,000,000 bonds, \$12,500,000 preferred stock and \$12,500,000 common stock. From the proceeds of the bonds \$2,500,000 was placed in the treasury of the trust as working capital. The Boston bankers of the new organization published a prospectus in September, 1899, in which after stating that the combination of the twenty-seven mills represented 76 per cent of the entire output of fine writing paper in the United States, said: "The combination of these companies will naturally result in extensive advantages, improvements and economies, and our best advices from competent men indicate that the net earnings of the new company

will not be less than \$2,200,000 (without increased output), which is equivalent to interest and sinking fund of the bonds 7 per cent dividend on the preferred and 3 or 4 per cent on the common stock."

With these cheerful prospects, the Writing Paper trust was floated, and if it is not now earning 5 per cent on its \$42,000,000 of capital, water and all, the failure will certainly not be ascribed by the uncharitable to defects in the trust system or lack of zeal in the promoter.

And this is but a type of the more than five hundred combinations of capital and industry which now control practically all the staples on the American market. In the strenuous struggle for big profits, some of them have gone to the wall. Their failures are recorded from day to day. Successors spring up in their places. It is not possible to state with accuracy the total capital thus turned from its natural course into these channels, but the estimates of various experts agree pretty nearly that the total capitalization of trusts in the United States is not far from \$6,000,000,000. With the water squeezed out this would probably be reduced to \$2,500,000,000, or one-fourth of the total amount invested in manufactures in the United States. But it is upon the \$6,000,000,000 that they are successfully or otherwise endeavoring to pay dividends, and any attempt to restrain that effort is, of course, promptly met with a cry of horror against the crime of disturbing "vested interests."

These figures do not include the capital invested in railroads. The two combined—twin brothers of high finance—employ, it is estimated, fully one-fourth of the labor in the United States save that upon the farms. Truly a lusty young giant to have grown up within so short a time.

Even with this rosy beginning, however, the progress of the trusts has not been without obstacles or even serious accidents. Quite early in the game the lame ducks of industry, which naturally were the most eager to experiment with the new form of combination, began to drop out of the race. It is even true that some of the trusts were badly managed. Though one of the first pleas for their organization was "internal economy," it was found that the internal conduct of the trust tended to expensiveness and expansion. Worse still, the dear public, which had bought these securities freely at the start, began to show a reluctance for further investment. Only the promoter and the underwriting banker came out unscathed. These worthies had taken their pay in "securities" and promptly converted the "securities" into cash while they were still

in active demand. All the other parties to the transaction began to realize that though the game was a good one, it might be overplayed. The time came when even the banks finally declined to underwrite further industrial combinations. The American people, despite the warnings of Jefferson and Jackson, had still to learn by costly experience the danger of reposing too great faith in banks and bankers.

As early as mid-summer a year ago, there was a well-developed sag in "industrials" on the stock market. But the genius of the new finance always rises to an emergency. To correct the evils of overcapitalization and mismanagement, the device of "reorganization" was brought forward. Reorganization in the case of trusts means the squeezing out of a part of the water and incidentally of the confiding investors who have purchased the watered stock. These latter, of course, do not belong to the "great investing class." As a rule, they are comparatively poor people who have put their small savings into trust securities upon the assurance afforded by their bankers and other financiers of eminence in whom they have reposed confidence. Another incident to reorganization is the closing of factories and the discharge of labor, though these maneuvers are not necessarily due to the evils named. They may be accomplished in the spirit of mere freakishness and financial pleasantry. A case in point was the shutting down of twelve mills belonging to the American Steel and Wire Company and the discharge of 7,000 men upon the order of its president, John W. Gates. If we may accept the testimony of his associates, Mr. Gates in perpetrating this little trick was not impelled by the actual necessities of the steel and wire trade, but acted, rather, on an impulse to plunder his confiding friends on the stock market. The incident led to Mr. Gates' arrest and arraignment in a New York Police Court. But his lawyers were quick to discover technical points upon which his liberty was secured and the eminent financier departed for a well-earned rest in Europe, the workingmen whom he had discharged awaiting his return with interest.

The private character of a man like Gates would in ordinary circumstances be a matter of the smallest concern to the American people, but as a prominent Republican politician, frequently mentioned for the office of senator in Congress from Illinois, he comes perhaps within the range of public criticism. As a friend and adviser of the President and of the President's conscience keeper, Senator Hanna, he is an object of legitimate interest, and the people are justifiably eager to learn something of

his methods of life and business. Mr. Gates' character has been drawn in detail by his friends and associates in business and it is full of instruction for the youth of the land. From these friendly sources we know that he began his business career a few years ago, "moonlighting" barbed wire in and around St. Louis. This industry was then controlled by patents held by the Washburn & Moen Company of Massachusetts. Mr. Gates infringed upon these patents in his "moonlight" factories, moving his machinery from time to time to evade the process of law. These operations he conducted with so much skill and audacity that the Washburn & Moen people finally came to terms with him, finding it cheaper to make peace than to wage war upon so troublesome a competitor.

Thus Mr. Gates emerged from obscurity into the world of high finance through the door of blackmail. From being a "moonlighter," chased by officers of the law, he became a great manufacturer. With the eye of genius he had discovered the basic principles of the modern theory of industry: (1) A monopoly in a staple largely used by the common people is a good thing. (2) The manufacture of barbed wire is a monopoly and the product is extensively used by all farmers. (3) The barbed wire business is a good thing. The syllogism was thus complete. The corollary, that it matters little how you get hold of a monopoly, so you get it, followed as a matter of course.

The qualities of head and heart which had made Mr. Gates a successful "moonlighter" found larger play in his new field of usefulness. Once admitted to the select brotherhood of great manufacturers, he speedily pushed his way to the front. Before many months he had, as he might say himself, "made the other fellows look like thirty cents." A series of organizations and reorganizations followed with lightning rapidity until the original comparatively modest barbed wire business became the American Steel & Wire Company, capitalized at \$90,000,000, more than half "common," or watered. The trust owned not only its wire mills, but its steel mills, besides controlling all the avenues of production from the mine to the mill. And the advantages of this arrangement became obvious a few months later, when, the trust having put up the price of wire 200 per cent, Mr. Gates pathetically explained that this increase was necessary on account of the "added cost of raw material." It was not necessary to add that the trust furnished its own raw material at its own price.

Indeed it is not Mr. Gates' policy to explain. "Our company," he

said to a reporter of the Chicago Times-Herald, through his hired man, Col. Lambert, president of the Illinois Steel & Wire Company, "is running its business without the need of explaining. We shut down and open our mills when we see fit."

It is this "public-be-damned" theory of the trustmen, so forcibly expressed by a modern captain of industry, which gives interest to the private character of such fellows as Gates. By the testimony of his partners in the trust, the man is a gambler, pure and simple. The manufacture and sale of wire are to him but adjuncts to his operations on the stock exchange. It was proved in a New York police court upon the occasion referred to that Mr. Gates had given to a reporter of the New York Herald a formal statement that the steel and wire business was in such a condition as to necessitate the instant closing of twelve of the trust's factories in Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and the discharge without notice of 7,000 men earning \$88,000 of wages weekly for the support of 35,000 people. The mills had, in fact, been shut down and the men discharged at Mr. Gates' order, but this statement was shown to be false and the shut-down of the mills unwarranted by the state of trade. Both heartless acts were accomplished solely in order to bull steel and wire securities in the market in aid of Mr. Gates' gambling schemes. Gates did not deny that he had given the statement or that the statement was false. Indeed, by his plea in court he impliedly admitted it, and he escaped imprisonment only upon the technical plea of his lawyer that a statement so given does not come within the meaning of the criminal law of New York against publishing false representations concerning securities. The New York justice, who had hurried up the hearing on Mr. Gates' eager representations that he "wanted to catch a steamer for Europe," sustained this plea and Mr. Gates caught his steamer. It is said that further legal proceedings await him on his return. His steamer was scarcely out of sight of land when a statement was published in the papers of the American Steel & Wire Co.'s affairs, showing that the trust's net earnings for the quarter ending March 31, 1900, amounted to \$4,173,739, or at the rate of \$16,694,956, nearly 20 per cent on the \$90,000,000 of stock (including the \$50,000,000 of water), an increase of 25 per cent over the trust's enormous earnings in 1899. If further proof were needed of the falsity of Gates' statement, it is here afforded.

Gates is described by those who know him best as a man of the loosest

personal habits, given to coarse living and to losing large sums at poker. His admirers tell of more than one such encounter at which sums like \$100,000 crossed the table in an evening. It is even said that his favorite diversion is to give his hungry friends false tips on the stock market and then playfully to turn their losses into his own pocket. But these eccentricities, as has been said, become interesting only when we find such a man in a position to fix at will the price of such a staple as barbed wire, and thus to levy millions of tribute on the farmers of the country without warning and without warrant. When, in addition, by the stroke of his pen, he deprives 35,000 persons of the means of sustenance, and then impudently tells the people that it is none of their business, the Democracy finds it time to ask on what meat this industrial Cæsar feeds that he has grown so great, so powerful, so arrogant. Are he and his trusts creatures of the State, or are they independent of and superior to the State? Are such acts really none of the people's business?

These are questions which the Democracy offer this year for the consideration of the people who, as usual are "paying the freight." Gates may continue his debaucheries at will, so long as he escapes the police, but the Gates trust and the Gates policy are matters which run very near to the heart of the republic. Both the trust and the policy are at present sanctioned by the State and protected by the courts. The Gates concern holds a charter from the commonwealth New Jersey, amounting to letters of marque and reprisal, under which it may plunder the citizens of any State in the Union, tie up a great industry at will, fix wages and the terms of employment, even to instant discharge without notice of thousands of bread-winners. It knows no law save the will or caprice of a dissolute and conscienceless tyrant who in turn worships only at the shrine of chance.

And we are told that such combinations of capital, such concentration of power in irresponsible hands, are a natural evolution of modern conditions, beyond the power of courts or legislatures to control, beneficial to the people. From this monstrous doctrine the Democracy dissents. The quick uprising of the trust power has been a natural growth, not of normal economic conditions, but of Republican favoritism and class legislation. Remove the cause and its effect will not long endure. And that is what the Democracy proposes to do.

So interesting a phenomenon as the trust could not long escape the attention of our legislators, of political, social and economic reformers

or of all that numerous class affected by these rapid changes in the industrial situation. When it is considered that no man or woman in America who buys food or clothing, or any other of the five hundred and odd necessities of life, wholly escapes the action of the trusts, it is no wonder that even before the beginning of the present year public interest in these combinations was roused to a considerable degree. In June, 1898, Congress had created an Industrial Commission, charged "to report from time to time upon the industrial situation." This body, finding the subject of trusts to be one "upon which there was pressing demand for trustworthy information," gave it early attention. The commission is still at work. A conference held at Chicago in September, 1899, of economic and other experts, of trustmen, railroad officials and others, debated the subject at great length for several days under the auspices of the Chicago Civic Federation. Early in the present year an Anti-Trust Conference was held also in Chicago. Many other bodies, official and others, have brought the light of their intelligence to bear upon the situation. It is universally conceded that an economic resolution has been begun and is still in progress. The press is filled with arguments and statements of fact more or less accurate and sincere, according to the political or economic connections of the respective papers.

The situation has been made more acute within the past few months by the obvious subsidence of the famous "McKinley prosperity." For some time it has been apparent that the roseate condition so loudly and so widely extolled by administration organs and orators, exists not so much in fact as in the exuberant fancy of these advocates of Mr. McKinley's re-election. The Standard Oil and Sugar trusts, the Anthracite Coal and railroad pools continue to convert their special privileges into millions of dividends and wax fatter from month to month. Not a few of the smaller trusts and combinations are also prospering—that is, they continue to earn large dividends for their shareholders. On the other hand, many of the trusts are seen to languish. In their attempts to maintain prices sufficiently high to yield dividends upon all their watered stock, they have driven buyers out of the market. The farmer has ceased to build wire fences because he can no longer afford it at the prices fixed by Mr. Gates and his associates. For similar reasons he no longer thinks of building new barns or additions to his house; the trust prices of lumber and nails and paint forbid. In the cities, building operations have lately come almost to a standstill on account of the high price of material,

and for this cessation of industry, of course, the "obstinate and unreasonable workingman" is awarded the blame. Having combined in imitation of his betters to protect himself against competition and maintain the price of his product, the man who has labor to sell is denounced, especially from the offices of banks and trust companies, as an "anarchist" and an "enemy of his country's prosperity." Dun's and Bradstreet's reports afford from week to week melancholy reading for those who have built too largely upon the continuance of the "gold brick prosperity."

It must not be supposed that at such a crisis as this the trust men are either idle or silent. At all the conferences named and at many others, wherever in fact they can find a hearing, the advocates of the new industrial order have come forward in explanation of the new development in the industrial world and in justification of their own course. It is realized, even in the high places of finance, that a new revolution is at hand, succeeding that which gave rise to the present trust evil. With the trustmen the problem is no longer how to get more, but how to keep that which they have. In order to do this they realize that they must find an explanation for their conduct and its consequences, which will be accepted by the voters at the approaching election. It is indeed a critical time for the apostles of the new finance.

The trust problem is too extensive and too intricate to be elaborated here, but a glance at some of the arguments advanced in the interest of the trusts will serve to show how desperate is their situation, now that they are to be tried before the tribunal of the Democracy.

A favorite contention of the trustmen is that these monstrous combinations are a natural evolution of the laws of trade and the conditions of society. The trust is here, these advocates say, and here to stay. This theory, interesting in itself, is not sustained by the facts. The original of all the trusts, the Standard Oil, had its germinal origin in the minds of a few enterprising citizens of Ohio. Their idea was twofold. First, combination; second, the employment of their united power to secure special privileges for the combination in order to oppress their few remaining competitors, or drive them out of business. If any of the competitors refused to surrender they were to be coerced. The Standard Oil's fight for the mastery of the petroleum fields of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and the control of the refined oil market, first in America and then the world over, makes a long story which need not be repeated here. It is a more than twice-told tale, but one of which no American citizen can

afford to be ignorant. Those who have not read Mr. Henry Demerest Lloyd's book, "Wealth Against Commonwealth," owe it to themselves to repair that defect in their education as citizens without delay.

Only the happy afterthought of a complacent multi-millionaire could describe that long career of fraud and force as a "natural evolution." The Standard Oil trust was forced upon the people with every device of high-priced counsel, or when the lawyers had exhausted their resources for defeating the law, their principals did not shrink from crime. The blowing up of rival distilleries, the wounding, even the murdering of men—these were only incidents in that relentless struggle for the control of a great industry. Juries were bought and sold, public officers, even judges on the bench, took tribute from the trust and paid for it in base service. At least one Standard Oil man was forced into the United States Senate in defiance of the angry protests of the people of his State, which, by the way, is also Mr. McKinley's State. The same commonwealth and the same influence afforded at least one member of President Harrison's cabinet, and President Cleveland in making up his official family drew upon the same brood. The independent refiners were pursued with malignity through all the walks of their business life. Producers of the crude petroleum were cajoled, tricked, forced into selling their oil for what the trust chose to pay. To this day the Standard Oil trust daily posts throughout the oil district the price which it will pay for crude petroleum, and from this schedule there is no appeal. The whole business, in a word, has been and is entirely removed from the domain of supply and demand. The entire trade—producing, refining, distributing and selling—pays unwilling tribute to the trust.

It may be that this unholy supremacy has come to stay. Certainly all efforts to dislodge it thus far have utterly failed, but if, as it is claimed, such a concern as the Standard Oil trust is a natural evolution of trade conditions, if free competition is a failure, then every argument for the trust is an argument for State socialism. But with this difference, that if the State controlled the natural supply and the machinery of production and distribution as the trust does, the profits would go to the State for the relief of the people by reduction of their taxes rather than to a coterie of men who use them for a further exploitation of the people.

Indeed it is noteworthy that among those who regard the developments with the most complacency are the advance socialists. The mem-

bers of this school have not been slow to perceive that the trusts are working out their ideas; they bid these combinations go ahead and God speed.

The promoter, as we have seen, has been chiefly responsible for most of the later trusts. That worthy individual must read with surprise, if not amusement, that in his modest endeavors to earn his fee he has been assisting at the birth of a new evolution in modern trade conditions. The promoter knows that if he can organize a trust in a given industry, there is so much in it for him—so many thousands or tens of thousands, or even hundreds of thousands of dollars. His business is to bring the manufacturers together and to this end no feat of dexterity in juggling with figures, no argument or even threat is to be despised. It is an obvious fact that the manufacturer who is doing well will prefer to run his own business for his own profit in his own way. Only the lame ducks of the trade take kindly to the trust idea, for they have nothing to lose. The others are bribed for their name and influence by the payment of fancy prices for their plants, or else coerced by fear of being left out in the cold and made to fight a monopoly single handed.

For monopoly is the central idea of all trusts. "Monopoly is the essence of the trusts," says Prof. Ely. "The trust is monopoly." It is not of course to be expected that the trust men will admit this. Monopoly is restraint of trade, and has been forbidden by the common law since the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is forbidden by the Constitution of the United States, and by the Constitution and statutes of most of the States. Men do not willingly make admissions tending to incriminate themselves, or to outlaw their business. Mr. Havemeyer, more frank than most of his fellow trustmen, admitted that the Sugar Trust was able to fix prices and did fix them, not only for itself, but for its competitors, though it did in fact only 80 per cent of the sugar trade. Still, he insisted that his trust was not a monopoly so long as a single competitor remained outside the organization. Perhaps it is not. There is a decision of the Supreme Court which seems to give color to this claim. But such contentions belong to the realm of theory. The control of prices by the Sugar Trust is a fact, and it is with facts that the democracy is concerned

Competition is not destroyed by these new combinations, the trustmen say, but removed to a higher plane. Here is another theory, and here is a fact which well illustrates the beauty of it. The Diamond Match trust, which is one of the most flourishing of its kind, was for a number of years made unhappy by a son of the late Jay Gould. This

young man, with a masterly grasp of the theory of "higher competition," set up out of his already abundant resources a number of alleged match factories to compete with the trust. Alleged because the factories were the merest pretense. In many cases the matches sold by the Gould concern were bought of the trust. But young Gould knew his business. His so-called factories were run to make money, not matches. This became evident not many months ago when the Diamond Match Trust bought out the young man, paying him a round million for his "factories." Further instances of the "higher competition" followed quickly. The Gould factories being shut down, such labor as they had employed was summarily discharged. To cover the cost of the purchase and recoup itself for the \$1,000,000 given to Mr. Gould, the Diamond Match Trust issued \$4,000,000 of additional stock, increasing its capitalization from \$11,000,000 to \$15,000,000. In order to pay dividends on this increase, it was of course necessary either to reduce wages or to raise the price of matches, or both. When this was pointed out, the trust denied that it did either. It simply issued a circular to the trade announcing that certain "lower grades of matches had been retired from the market."

That is the dilemma on one or other of whose horns the trust idea is inevitably impaled. The trust must either maintain an absolute monopoly in defiance of the law, or meet such "higher competition" as that just now described at the expense of labor and of the consumer. Already other match factories have been set up in New Jersey in the hope and expectation of being bought out as Gould was bought out. It is "good business." The competing concerns have only to hold out until they become sufficiently troublesome. Then the trust will give them their own price and issue more new stock. Of course the moral aspect of such transactions, or their deteriorating effect upon trade and labor, are not for a moment considered. Such things belong to the realm of sentiment, and sentiment has no place in modern business. As Mr. Havemeyer said before a commission of Congress, "we are in business to make money for ourselves."

We have already seen how labor fared at the hands of the Gates Steel and Wire Trust. The same fate awaits any employe of any trust. It is only a question of time and occasion. The more perfect the monopoly, the more abject the condition of the hired man. Yet a favorite pretense of the trustmen is that the condition of labor is improved under their combinations. One of the basic ideas of the trust combination is to reduce the cost of production, and the two factors of the cost of production are

raw material and labor. Consistency is not a jewel upon which the trustman fixes a high price. The 300,000 traveling men discharged within a year by trust concerns tell a story not dissimilar to that of the men discharged by Gates. They will all speak at the polls in November. All over the country dismantled factories standing in the midst of impoverished homes swell the melancholy tale. The number of these monuments to trust prosperity increases as the wave of that prosperity subsides. Only the monopolist is seen riding on the summit of the current which involves the workingman, the small merchant and their families in destruction.

R. G. Dun & Co.'s weekly review of trade for May 19 thus defines the situation in the terms of business: "Business is not what it was a year ago, but men do not agree in defining the difference. The working force, then increasing fast, is now decreasing. Works are stopping to relieve excessive output in manufactures of paper, cotton, wool, leather and some forms of steel, while prices are suddenly reduced for the same purpose in lead, wire and nails. What seems to some merely spring dullness others think the beginning of a reaction. * * * In place of the wild speculation of securities which spelled exchanges a year ago, there has come such liquidation that 20 preferred industrial stocks have sold this week at prices averaging \$83.14 per share, though the same stocks sold in April last year for \$99.06 per share, and 20 common have sold this week for \$38.49, which sold last year at \$76.99, double the price. (Common, it may here be remarked, is the ordinary commercial name for the promoters' watered stock.) * * * The industrials have reached the lowest average they have ever known. Business in some lines has been hindered by the holding of prices so high as to check consumption. The closing of works by the capitalized Steel & Wire Co., followed by the reduction of \$20 per ton in prices of its products; the closing of many paper mills because of over-production; the sudden reduction of 70 cents per 100 pounds in lead from the price to which it was raised late in December; the report that tin plate works may be closed awhile for similar reasons, create a feeling that some business no longer has the guarding and guiding influence of prices answering quickly to the demand for consumption."

And the effect of all this upon the farmer is shown by the following from Bradstreet's report of the same date: "Continued dullness in many branches and further shading in several staple lines constitute the

leading features of the business situation. The weakness of prices is displayed in lower quotations for corn, pork, butter, cheese, wool and cotton among the great agricultural products, and petroleum and lead among mineral productions."

If a trust be over-capitalized, mismanaged or robbed by its own officers; if the market refuses longer to endure monopolistic exaction in the form of high prices; if the people are unable to pay what the trust demands and so cease to buy at all, to get along without the goods, who pays the penalty of the resulting subsidence of business? Who but the workingman? In hard times he feels the first cut. In time of prosperity, though he hold his place, it is by the grace of his employer. At all times he is in his employer's power and that power is made more absolute in proportion as the trust monopoly is more perfect.

It is true there has been voluntary increase of wages in the past year on the part of trust factories. But, ignoring the odious suggestion that these were made in the year of a presidential election with an ulterior purpose, it will be found in all instances that these vaunted increases were but the restoration to a scale of wage previously cut down by the employers. Even a trust manufacturer can see the wisdom of adding 10 per cent to the wages of his employes if he know that the men are aware that his profits have increased 100 per cent. Selfishness is none the less selfishness because it is sometimes guided by common prudence.

Affecting even a greater number of people than the labor question is the question of the effect of trusts upon the prices of commodities. Here again the trust men bring forward the claim that prices have been reduced by their combinations. The only answer to this assertion is that it is simply not true. Mr. Byron Holt, the eminent statistician, has gone into this subject thoroughly and scientifically, and he declares that in only two instances in all the United States have trusts reduced prices, and these two exceptions are wholly equivocal. His denial is worth more than the whole chorus of trust inspired theorizing. Our old friend, the Standard Oil Trust, makes a virtue of the fact that the price of refined oil has fallen in the memory of living men from more than a dollar to less than ten cents a gallon. For this reduction of price the trust of course claims the credit. As a matter of fact, the price of refined oil fell steadily and with greater rapidity before the trust was formed than it has fallen since, and obviously this reduction has been due from the

beginning to the discovery of new fields of raw petroleum and to reduced cost of refining and distribution. An important factor has been the use of pipe lines to convey the crude to the refinery and the refined to the market. But the pipe line was not the invention of the trust. It was, in fact, bitterly opposed by that combination until the latter was able to gain control of the more important pipe lines, whereupon they employed them to kill competition. Such is the only use that the Standard Oil trust has for any invention it is forced to adopt, but it is a saying in the oil country that the trust is the graveyard of the inventor.

It is not the price of the refined oil, but the margin between the cost of the crude and the selling price of the refined which tells the story of profits. And this has not decreased under the regime of the trust. It never will. Moreover, as Mr. Rockefeller has somewhat indiscreetly admitted, the by-products now utilized in the process of refining—benzine, paraffine, etc.—are of equal value with the oil itself, so that if the trust were engaged in philanthropy, it might give away its oil for nothing and still make fortunes beyond the “dreams of avarice.” As it is, its profits are increasing every year; its power grows more absolute, is exercised more relentlessly and is felt in higher places.

The trust is here and must be dealt with. That fact is recognized by all who have given the subject serious consideration, and only a few, a very few, deny that the new industrial combination is an evil requiring instant restraint and regulation by law. Lawmakers have for years been more or less active to this end. As long ago as 1887 the Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Law, partly in view of certain tendencies of trade then just beginning to appear upon the horizon, but which have since assumed the proportions of a gigantic evil. Three years later the situation was such that the Congress passed what is now known as the “Sherman Anti-Trust Law,” a general enactment declaring to be illegal any combination in restraint of trade. Though this enactment did no more than embody a plain constitutional provision, it has been found thus far wholly inadequate, under successive capitalistic administrations, to cope with the evil at which it was professedly aimed. The same is true of most of the laws passed by the twenty-seven States and two Territories whose legislatures have framed enactments upon the subject, since the example was set by Maine in 1889. Many of these laws have been tested in the courts and found wanting. Unhappily there is not lacking ground for suspicion that at least a few of them were framed with no better

purpose than to be found "unconstitutional" when put to the test of the courts.

It is an interesting fact that the most strenuous of these enactments have been made by the legislatures of Democratic States. In the Republican States, as a rule, to which there are but few exceptions, the so-called anti-trust laws were either drawn by trust attorneys in trust offices, or else amended by the same influences in such manner as to defeat their usefulness. The legislature of the State of New York considered at this year's session a law drawn by Gov. Roosevelt, who has lately professed to give much attention and profound concern to the trust evil. But this legislature, made up chiefly of Republicans and bogus Democrats, refused to pass even the mild enactment framed by the governor. It is obvious that if legislative relief from the trust evil is to come at all, it is not to come from States in which the trusts are able to give their orders to party leaders, whether Republican or professedly but falsely Democratic.

In Mr. McKinley's own State of Ohio the most shameful exhibitions of trust influence have been seen from the beginning. The Ohio legislature this year utterly refused to give serious consideration to any genuine anti-trust law. The people of that State have felt the oppression of trusts more bitterly than any other, with the possible exception of the strongly Republican State of Pennsylvania. With a unanimity wholly exceeding party limits, they demanded legislation in their own behalf against the exactions of the trusts. In this they were supported valiantly by Attorney-General Monnett, whose campaign against the trusts while he was in office was one of the strongest ever made. Mr. Monnett was elected as a Republican, but the leaders of that party, in obedience to express orders from the Standard Oil office in New York City, drove Mr. Monnett out of the office which he had filled with so much credit to himself and so much satisfaction to the people, and prevented his renomination just as he had reached the point in his official career where he could have been most serviceable to the people and most dangerous to the trusts.

Gov. Roosevelt's favorite remedy for the trust evil is that which has come to be known as "publicity." He would have the trusts required by law to make public exhibition in the form of statements, of their assets and liabilities, of the amount of their capital stock, common and preferred, and in general, of the statistics of their business. This the gov-

error insists would constitute a sure protection for the investor who has so often in the past been swindled into the purchase of worthless securities. The same idea is contained in the recommendation of the Industrial Commission already referred to. The commission goes further and recommends the extension of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, with a view to restricting the power of railroads to give discriminating rates in favor of the trusts.

These recommendations are excellent in themselves, but they are wholly inadequate. Publicity—real publicity—might indeed be a partial defense against the swindle of over-capitalization. But it may be remarked that the beneficiary of such a law would be the investor, a worthy individual, but one who does not belong, as a rule, to the common people, and has few interests in common with them. The great body of American citizens are not investors, and are little likely to be swindled in the purchase of excessive issues of stock. The investor, as a rule, is able to take care of himself. He is, moreover, subject to the legal warning, *caveat emptor* which applies to the stock speculator quite as much as to the poor man buying a pair of boots. The solicitude of Gov. Roosevelt and the McKinley commission for the rich man is as characteristic as their neglect of the common people.

But the chief defect of the publicity remedy is that it is wholly impracticable. If a trust official has been guilty of breaking the law, he is constitutionally exempted from going on the stand and giving testimony that will incriminate himself. And it is a highly instructive commentary on the state of morals in modern business that many of the respectable, not to say pious and philanthropic, gentlemen who have been summoned to give testimony in court and before various other tribunals regarding the operation of their trusts, have taken refuge behind this constitutional provision. In New York State this phenomenon assumed such importance that the legislature passed a law intended to enable a trust witness to give evidence of his own and his associates' crime without waiving the penalty. But the first court before which this enactment was brought for test smashed it upon the rock of technicality with so much ease that the law plainly appeared to have been framed for no happier destiny.

So it is plain that the trustman will not tell in court the story of his own iniquity. In the first place, as we have seen, there is no adequate legal warrant for summoning him to do so. But more important still, it has been proved in a thousand instances that the trustman once upon

the stand and cornered by skilful counsel will invariably lie. Lie is not a pretty word, but there is no other in the language adequate to describe the attitude of trust officials toward the truth, even while they are under oath. The Standard Oil trust, in particular, has developed some of the greatest benefactors of education and the most expert liars that the world has ever seen. Its officers, many of them deacons in churches, benefactors of schools, colleges and libraries—men of the highest respectability, in a word, have proved on the witness stand to be masters of the art of perjury and doctors of the philosophy of tergiversation. Not a few of these gentlemen openly confess this baseness, but defend it upon the plea that their "business is private," and that nobody, no court even, no commission of Congress, has any right to interrogate them concerning trust affairs. This has become a favorite theory of the trustmen. Though created by the State, and by the State endowed with special privileges out of which they have grown rich, they have already in their own estimation risen above the level of their creator. "The business is ours," said an indignant Standard Oil official, "and nobody else has any right to it." "The people are ours and all that they own"—the inference is plain.

It will be seen also that the intricacies of book-keeping afford a practically unrestricted field for the talents of the trust liar. With the utmost show of complaisance and frankness a trust book-keeper can go upon the stand and give an exhibition in the juggling of figures out of which not even the most expert investigator could extricate the facts. The State of Massachusetts has already passed a law requiring foreign corporations doing business within its boundaries to make annual statements of their affairs. Most of the trusts within the provisions of this law have regularly complied with it. The Sugar trust, notably, has published annual statements, but if anybody reading those documents can find out their meaning, or discover in that arithmetic maze any line leading to the truth, or anything resembling the truth, he may have the profits of the Sugar trust for a year as reward for his skill. And beyond doubt, Mr. Havemeyer would endorse this offer without hesitation, for these statements were drawn up under his own eye and with his own purpose, which, whatever it may have been, was not to give the commonwealth of Massachusetts any information concerning the trust's affairs.

Such remedies as the publicity proposed by Gov. Roosevelt and the Industrial Commission touch only the surface of the new industrial problem. The only publicity that can avail for good is that which instructs

the voters in the methods of the trusts—not only the methods of organization and the issue and sale of securities, but the means which the trust employs, once it is clothed in the form of law, to secure and hold the special privileges upon which monopoly is founded. The phenomenon of the trust in its present form is so new that its real meaning has not yet had time to sink into the popular mind. Publicity of the right sort will clear the air, but it must be something more than the mere publication of annual statements for the guidance of Wall street gamblers.

Of the Roosevelt and Industrial Commission remedy, it is perhaps enough to say that this pretended panacea has received the cordial sanction of Mr. Rockefeller himself. In a recent interview the head of the Standard Oil trust expressed to a New York reporter his entire and no doubt sincere satisfaction with the Roosevelt law and the recommendations of the Industrial Commission. He thought they would be a “good thing” for the investor and would tend to correct some of the inequalities of the present situation. Mr. Rockefeller has had experience with publicity of this sort. He knows it cannot disturb him or his monopoly, but may serve to turn public attention away from the real issue.

But touch the subject of special privilege and you will hear a chorus of dissent from the trust forces. Special privileges is the essence of monopoly and monopoly is the trust. The Standard Oil trust was the first American industrial concern to discover this important principle. Early in its existence it secured the co-operation of the Erie and other railroads in a scheme which has made real competition impossible, though the trusts have actually refined and sold less than 75 per cent of the entire product. Under this arrangement the railroads multiplied its freight rates on oil by 2, but rebated to the Standard the entire amount of added charges collected from the trust's competitors, thus giving the Rockefeller concern free carriage for its product at the expense of its rival. Of course no real competition could long endure against such odds. The wonderful productivity of the oil region and the enormous profits in the refining business have enabled a small minority of refiners to continue even to the present time, but their struggle against the trust has been one of the tragedies of modern industry. One of the witnesses before the Industrial Commission said that the Standard Oil had refined and sold about 500,000,000 barrels of oil since its organization. The value of its property on the basis of its earnings is at present about \$500,000,000. This would make a profit of \$1 a barrel upon its entire business. The independent

refiners pathetically told the commission that they would be more than satisfied with a profit of ten cents a barrel.

The Standard Oil trust has been the chief beneficiary of railroad discrimination, but by no means the only one. Such practices as that described were continued openly until the passage of the Inter-State Commerce Law and the appointment of the commission. Since then the officers of the trust have invariably denied that they enjoyed any special rates or rebates from the railroads. This denial has been repeated many times by many officials and before many tribunals, often under oath. A representative of the trust only last fall told the Industrial Commission repeatedly that his company had enjoyed no special privileges or rates from the railroads since the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act. Yet among the evidence produced before the commission were several letters and telegrams exchanged by the president and vice-president of the Oil trust on one hand and officials of the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Trans-Continental Association on the other. In this correspondence an arrangement was explicitly made by which the rate on oil to the Pacific coast was to be held at 90 cents per hundred-weight until the trust had had time to stock up its western warehouses; then the rate was to be raised without notice to \$1.25 per hundred-weight; of course for the special benefit of the trust's competitors, who were thus forced to meet a discrimination amounting to 35 cents per hundred-weight, or more than thirty per cent. The representative of the Oil trust, confronted with this correspondence, did not deny that these letters and telegrams had been sent. Indeed, he could not very comfortably, as the original documents were in hand at the time. But at that moment his explicit denial of all railway discrimination in favor of its company was still warm upon his lips. There is nothing that a Standard Oil official will not assert or deny if the exigencies of monopoly seem to require it.

Representatives of the Standard Oil trust filed with the Industrial Commission letters from no less than twenty managers of great railroads, all combining in the assertion made so confidently by Mr. Rockefeller and other trustmen that no discrimination had been given by the railroads in favor of the trusts. The value of these denials may best be shown by the following extracts from a letter written December 22, 1898, by Receivers Cowen and Murray of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company and addressed to Chairman Knapp of the Inter-State Commerce Commission:

"Within the territory north of the Ohio river and east of the Mississippi the railroad carriers are transporting the larger part of the inter-state traffic at rates less than those shown in the published tariff filed with your commission, which are by statute the only unlawful rates.

"While this condition continues there will exist the unjust discriminations and the unjust preferences and advantages between persons, localities and particular descriptions of traffic, the prevention of which is the main object of the act of Congress establishing your commission.

"The Supreme Court of the United States has now fully determined the so-called anti-trust act applies to railroad carriers and in legal effect prohibits any agreement between them which restrains competition in any degree, even though such agreement goes no further than to secure the observance of the restraints imposed by the act to regulate Congress. It is therefore no longer lawful for the carriers to create by agreements between them joint agencies or associations, as formerly, to prevent the cutting of rates, however unlawful, without some impartial body to investigate the complaints of one competing carrier against another and to check illegal rate cutting, it will be practically impossible for the railroad carrier alone to prevent that form of competition between them, however earnest the great majority of the carriers may be to stop it. We see no reason why the commission should refuse its aid in an effort to prevent competition from taking the form of illegal concessions through secret rates, drawbacks, rebates and other devices."

And the receivers concluded by giving their solemn assurance that after January 1, 1899, the Baltimore & Ohio road would abide by the law and refuse to give discriminating rates, thus by implication admitting that such illegal practices had been common under the previous management of the road. In its review of the evidence taken before that body the Industrial Commission has this to say on the same subject:

"In other investigation carried on by the Industrial Commission (other than that upon the subject of trusts), especially that on transportation, it has been quite generally conceded by railroad men and shippers that even up to the present time (1900) discriminating rates are made in favor of large shippers."

The Anthracite Coal trust is another product of the privilege of railroad discrimination. A small coterie of railroad officials sits once or twice a year in an office in Wall street and arbitrarily fixes not only

the output from the mines, but also the price per ton of hard coal. An increase of 25 or 50 cents a ton, such as is made at least once in a twelve-month, meaning \$10,000,000 or \$20,000,000 of tribute levied on the consumers of anthracite coal, who in one word are all the people of the United States, rich and poor alike. The restriction of the output by 5,000,000 tons, a frequent incident to the business, means a hungry Christmas for thousands of miners in the heart of that special preserve of protection and special privilege, the great republican commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The law of Pennsylvania forbade railroad corporations to own coal mines, until the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Coal trust had it changed and construed to their liking. "The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania," says a recent English law writer, "was once of high authority throughout the English-speaking world. At present it is operated by the Pennsylvania Railroad just as effectually as that railroad runs its own trains."

A tariff of 50 cents a ton levied many years ago at the behest of these Pennsylvania patriots keeps out of the country the rich and excellent supply of Nova Scotian coal which might otherwise be a serious competitor to the trust product. Indeed, the tariff is a form of special privilege from which most of the trusts at present derive their power to oppress the people. "The tariff is the mother of trusts," said Mr. Havemeyer before a commission of Congress. But this outburst of candor may have been due, at least in part, to that great financier's natural irritation because the sugar trust has never been able to get a tariff on refined sugar high enough to suit its ideas of the dignity of American labor and the interests of the dear people.

Beyond a doubt the Dingley tariff bill was drawn in the interest of the industries now controlled by the trusts. Strange as it may seem, a number of well-meaning, or at least well-inspired, gentlemen appeared before the Industrial Commission to deny this obvious fact with considerable show of indignation at the unruly spirit which would disturb trade by questioning the sanctity of the tariff. But at this late day such denials, if they do not belong to mere academic discussion, must be classed among the cheap assets of the trusts. No sane person can of course deny that a monopoly in the United States is supported, or perhaps even wholly maintained, by a tariff which is high enough to keep out the products of other countries. It is, moreover, a matter of history so recent as to be remembered of all men, that the only interests repre-

sented in the committee-room while the Dingley bill was being drawn were trust interests.

It is due to the tariff in great part that the Carnegie Company is able to make \$40,000,000 a year; that the American Steel and Wire trust can treble the price of its product within a twelvemonth; that American typewriters, sewing machines, agricultural implements, etc., are sold abroad at one-half to three-fourths of the prices exacted in America. The cheerfulness with which the American citizen and voter contributes of his substance to a scheme whereby Englishmen, Germans and South Americans, and even Asiatics, are enabled to buy American products more cheaply than himself, is one of the phenomena to which future students of human character may devote its proper meed of attention. Our "infant industries" have reached the point where they can meet competition abroad and, as they have many times shown, undersell their foreign competitors on the latters' own ground and yet realize handsome profits. Meanwhile, the price of the same products at home is fixed at "what the tariff will bear." The phenomenal increase in American exports during the past eighteen months has been chiefly of manufactures, not of agricultural products. The sole benefit of this great development in our commerce has been absorbed by the few and arrogant tariff-fed proprietors and employers of labor. The industries which the American people taxed themselves to support in the days of their struggling youth now claim the tariff as a right and they have assumed such proportions that they have been able to enforce their demands. And they will be able to do so as long as that party remains in power which gives them protection in exchange for their support at the polls.

The tariff is by no means the only, perhaps not even the most important, form of special privilege enjoyed by the trusts. We have already referred to one of the incidental properties or "side-lines" of the Standard Oil trust, the International Steamship Line, sometimes facetiously called the "American" Line. This corporation owes its existence chiefly to the Postal-Subsidy Law passed in 1891 under the administration of President Harrison. The passage of this law may well be recalled in this connection in view of the similar measure fathered by Senator Hanna and the McKinley administration, brought before the present Congress. The law of 1891 was introduced to the people under circumstances which vividly recall those attending the launch of the present ship subsidy measure. It was proposed then, as it is now, to revive the

American merchant marine, unhappily fallen into decadence. A well instructed press held forth with eloquence on the patriotic duty of all Americans to insist in restoring the old flag to its former pre-eminence on the high seas. When the patriotic enthusiasm of the people had reached a proper pitch, the details of the law were made public. These were in substance that the International corporation should be permitted to purchase two Clyde-built steamers and have them admitted to American register. There were certain conditions, as, for example, that only American seamen were to be employed on these ships and that the company should within a given time build two others of equal tonnage in American yards. Thus we should have, as pointed out, an American fleet, and Columbia would once more be queen of the ocean.

As a trifling consideration for all this patriotism, the International Company was to have an exclusive privilege of carrying United States mails and to receive therefor \$4 a mile for fifty-two trips a year between New York and Southampton and between New York and Antwerp. The contract was obligingly dated ahead by the Postmaster-General so as to run from 1895 until 1905. It is still in force, and the "American" Company derives from it an income of \$657,696 a year, or \$6,576,960 for the term of ten years, on the Southampton contract, and \$696,800 a year, or \$6,968,000 for the term on the Antwerp contract, a total of \$1,354,496 a year, or \$13,544,960 for the ten years. This on the mail contract alone, and of course wholly in addition to the ordinary and much larger revenues from the carriage of passengers and freight. The full flavor of the company's patriotism is not appreciated until we consider that the total investment in this new American fleet has not been more than \$10,000,000. For that matter, with the government contract in their hands, the Standard Oil projectors of this patriotic enterprise (who, by the way, included a member of President Cleveland's cabinet) need not have invested a single dollar of their own, for any bank in the world would gladly advance all the money necessary to build and fit out the ships of a company holding so advantageous a contract. Moreover, with this special privilege in their favor, the company was enabled to drive all competition from the field if their business required that extraneous aid.

As for the benefits to American labor, such American seamen as applied for employment on these "American" ships found to their surprise and disgust that they were not wanted. "We can get men cheaper

on the other side," they were told. The Seamen's Union applied to the government for protection against this obvious violation of the law. They were met with fair words, but got no relief. President Harrison's Secretary of the Treasury (an ex-attorney for the Standard Oil trust), made a special ruling exempting the company from the performance of its agreement in respect to American labor. There the matter rested, and still rests, for the seamen on this side of American line of steamships are still "yankees" from the Clyde and the land of the midnight sun.

The subsidy law of 1900 is perhaps even worse than that of 1891, because on its face it proposes to endow with rich government grants the entire Standard Oil fleet of tank vessels sailing between our Atlantic coast and European and Asiatic ports, and carrying trust oil exclusively. Nine years' possession of this form of special privilege has made the Standard Oil crowd arrogant. And with good reason. They have learned that they can absolutely control the leaders not only of the Republican party, but many of that small and discredited political coterie, the assistant Republicans, who for four years have been posing as Democrats of the "gold standard" variety. Indeed, some of these latter, by reason of their Democratic professions, are better friends to the trusts, and therefore worse enemies of the people, than the avowed trust men of the Republican party. Fortunately, the real nature of their Democracy, their real attitude toward the rights of the people, and their real friendship for capitalism in any form, have of late become matters of common knowledge. Their power for evil has waned, almost if not quite to the vanishing point. They no longer represent anybody but themselves. Their hold upon the people is gone.

Some of the men who left the Democratic party in 1896 were sincere, if mistaken, in their motives. Not understanding the prime issue of the campaign, they were affrighted by the outcry raised by the financiers. Men of this sort are now returning, but those who abandoned Democracy because they wished to serve, or profit by, monopoly, will not come back, nor should they be invited.

This perhaps has been the most encouraging sign of the times in reference to the trust evil. So long as the Democracy was betrayed within its own house, its power to cope with the capitalistic elements seeking its destruction was neutralized and destroyed. Now that the false Democrats have been forced down from their seats and the people

restored to their own, there is hope of that united and intelligent action which is necessary for the solution of the trust problem and of all other questions of equal importance now impending.

So the remedy for the trusts may be said now to be within reach. It will not be the dawdling of insincere reformers or incompetent amateurs. Whatever direction it may take at the start, it will proceed ultimately toward the root of the evil. It will be drastic, it will be radical. No friend of the people, no patriotic American, need fear to see the remedies of the Democracy at work. They will operate swiftly and effectively, but with smoothness. For, after all, they will amount chiefly to the enforcement of the laws and the terms of the Constitution. They will give effect to the Declaration of Independence, a document fallen of late into some disrepute, in some quarters, but still let it be believed, alive and in full force.

What is needed in this crisis, as in many others in our history, is not so much new laws as the enforcement by honest servants of the people of those laws which already exist. The Democracy proposes that the laws shall be honestly enforced.

In a recent newspaper article Mr. Bryan has summed up the trust question and some of the remedies proposed in these terms:

"The trust principle is not a new principle, but the trust principle is manifesting itself in so many ways and the trusts have grown so rapidly that people now feel alarmed about trusts who did not feel alarmed four years ago. The trust question has grown in importance, because within two years more trusts have been organized than were organized in all the previous history of the country.

"I want to start with the declaration that *a monopoly in private hands is indefensible from any standpoint and intolerable*. I make no exceptions to the rule. I do not divide monopolies into good monopolies and bad monopolies. *There can be no good monopoly*. There may be one despot who is better than another despot, but there is no good despotism. One trust may be less harmful than another. One trust magnate may be more benevolent than another. But there is no good monopoly in private hands, and I do not believe it is safe for society to permit any man or group of men to monopolize any article of merchandise or any branch of industry.

"What is the defense made of monopoly? It is always placed on the ground that if you allow a few people to control the market and fix the

price they will be good to the people who purchase of them. The entire defense of the trusts rests upon a money argument. If the trust will sell to a man an article for a dollar less than the article will cost under other conditions, then it is said a trust is a good thing. In the first place, I deny that under a monopoly the price will be reduced. In the second place, if under a monopoly the price is reduced, the objections far outweigh any financial advantage that the trust could bring. Money is made to be the servant of man, and I protest against all theories that enthrone money and debase mankind.

"Charles R. Flint, at Boston on the 25th day of last May, defended trust principles before an exceedingly sympathetic audience. It was composed almost exclusively of Boston bankers.

"I quote a few of the advantages to be derived from trusts from this high authority. First he declares:

" 'Raw material bought in large quantities is secured at lower prices.'

"That is the first advantage. One man to buy wool for all the woolen manufacturers. That means that every man who sells wool must sell it at the price fixed by this one purchaser in the United States. The first thing is to lower the price of raw material. The great majority of the people are engaged in the production of raw material and in the purchase of finished products. Comparatively few can stand at the head of syndicates and monopolies and secure the profits from them. Therefore, the first advantage of a monopoly is to lower the price of the raw materials furnished by the people. Note the next advantage:

" 'Those plants which are best equipped and most advantageously situated are run continuously and in preference to those less favored.'

"The next thing after they have bought all the factories is to close some of them and to turn out of employment the men who are engaged in them. If you will go about over the country you will see where people have subscribed money to establish enterprises, and where these enterprises, having come under the control of trusts, have been closed, and stand now silent monuments of the trust system. Behold the next advantage. Mr. Flint says:

" 'In case of local strikes or fires, the work goes on elsewhere, thus preventing serious loss.'

"This means that if the people employed in one factory are not satisfied with the terms fixed by the employers and strike, the trust can close

that factory and let the employees starve while work goes on in other factories without loss to the manufacturer.

"It means that when the trust has frozen out the striking employees in one factory and compelled them to return to work at any price, it can provoke a strike somewhere else and freeze the workmen out there. When a branch of industry is entirely in the hands of one great nonopoly, so that every skilled man in that industry has to go to the one man for employment, then that one man will fix wages as he pleases and the laboring men will share the suffering of the man who sells the raw materials.

" 'There is no multiplication of the means of distribution, and a better force of salesmen takes the place of a large number.'

"That is the next advantage named. I want to warn you that when the monopoly has absolute control brains will be at a discount and relatives will be found to fight for these positions. When there is competition every employer has to get a good man to meet competition, but when there is no competition anybody can sit in the office and receive letters and answer them, because everybody has to write to the same house for everything he wants. Mr. Flint says trusts have another advantage:

" 'Terms and conditions of sale become more uniform and credit can be more safely granted.'

"The trust can not only fix the price of what it sells, but it can fix the terms upon which it sells. And the purchaser must trust to the manager's generosity as to what is fair.

"What is the first thing to be expected of a trust? That it will cut down expenses. What is the second? That it will raise prices. That is human nature. God made men selfish. I do not mean to say that He made a mistake when He did, because selfishness is merely the outgrowth of an instinct of self-preservation. It is the abnormal development of a man's desire to protect himself. I often wish we might have a condition in which every adult who died might leave to his widow and children enough property for the education of his children and the support of his widow. Society would be benefited, because if a man dies and leaves no provision for his wife and children the burden falls upon society. But while I wish to see every person secure for himself a competency, I don't want him to destroy more than he is worth while he is doing that. I believe the principle of monopoly finds its inspiration in the desire of men to secure by monopoly what they cannot secure in the open field of

competition. If I were going to try to find the root of the monopoly evil I would do as I have often had occasion to do—go back to the Bible for an explanation; and I would find it in the declaration that the love of money is the root of all evil.

“Another thing that, in my judgment, has aided monopoly is a high tariff. Nobody can dispute that a tariff—an import duty—enables a trust to charge for its product the price of a similar foreign product plus the tariff.

“Now, some have suggested that to put everything on the free list that trusts make would destroy the trusts. I do not agree with this statement as it is made so broadly.

“It has been suggested that discrimination by railroads has aided the trusts. No question about it. If one man can secure from railroads better rates than another man, he will be able to run the other man out of business. But even if we prevented such discrimination by placing every producer upon the same footing and absolutely preventing favoritism, monopoly might still exist.

“The remedy must go further. It must be complete enough to prevent the organization of a monopoly.

“I think men differ more as to the remedy than they do as to their opinion of the trusts. I venture the opinion that few people will defend monopoly as a principle, or a trust organization as a good thing, but there are great differences of opinion as to the remedy.

“We have a dual form of government—a State government and a Federal government. This dual form of government has advantages which can hardly be overestimated, yet it also has its disadvantages. When you prosecute a trust in the United States Court it hides behind State sovereignty, and when you prosecute it in the State Court it rushes to seek Federal jurisdiction—and we have some difficulty in finding a prison for it.

“Every State has, or should have, the right to create any private corporation which, in the judgment of the people of the State, is conducive to the welfare of its people. The people of the State are able always to settle a question which concerns them alone. If they create a corporation, and it becomes destructive of their best interests, they have power to destroy the corporation; but if the corporation which oppresses them is a foreign corporation, created in another State, they cannot destroy it. They should have power to exclude it. In other words, the people of the

State should have not only a right to create the corporations they want, but they should be permitted to protect themselves against any outside corporation.

“But I do not think this is sufficient. I believe in addition to a State remedy there must be a Federal remedy, and I believe Congress has, or should have, the power to place restrictions and limitations, even to the point of prohibition, upon any corporation organized in any State that wants to do business outside of the State.

“I do not believe that the people of one State can rely upon the people of another State in the management of corporations. New Jersey has a law favorable to trusts. It is not safe to place the people of other States at the tender mercies of the people of such a State as may desire to collect its running expenses from the taxation of corporations organized to prey upon people outside.”

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MONEY QUESTION

The Democratic party, being the party of honesty, believes in an honest dollar. The honest dollar has been well defined as "the dollar lawfully existing at the time of the contract and in view of which the contract was made." "An absolutely honest dollar," says Mr. Bryan, "would not vary in its purchasing power. It would be absolutely stable when measured by average prices. A dollar which increases in purchasing power is just as dishonest as a dollar which decreases in its purchasing power."

The Democracy, being the party of the Constitution, stands for constitutional money, which is money based on gold and silver equally. Section 8 of Article 1 of the Constitution gives Congress the power "to coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures." Section 10 of Article 1 prohibits the States "from making anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts." "I am certainly of the opinion," said Mr. Webster in the United States Senate, December 21, 1836, "that gold and silver at rates fixed by Congress constitute the legal standard value of this country and that neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard or to displace this."

And for many years no man and no party thought of questioning the parity of the two metals as thus defined by these high authorities. The first act relating to coinage was that of April 2, 1792. It provided for the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of fifteen parts of silver to one of gold. This act was prepared by Alexander Hamilton, the Federalist, endorsed by Thomas Jefferson, the Democrat, and approved by the President, George Washington. "I return you the report on the mint," wrote Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Hamilton. "I concur with you that the unit must stand on both metals."

The ratio of 15 to 1 prevailed under successive Presidents without interruption or question until June, 1834, when, the number of grains in the gold eagle having been reduced, it was changed to 16 to 1. This was under the presidency of Andrew Jackson, who said in his farewell address: "The Constitution of the United States unquestionably to secure

the people a circulating medium of gold and silver. Under Van Buren, Harrison and Tyler, Polk, Taylor and Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln and Johnson the ratio of 16 to 1 continued and the country prospered and waxed strong. It was under the presidency of U. S. Grant, in February, 1873, that the famous act was passed omitting the silver dollar from the list of coins and making the gold dollar the unit of value." The passage of this law is known, and will forever be known, as the "crime of 1873." For those who assisted in committing it, it is but charity to say that most of them had no conception of the purport or ultimate effects of the law.

But even this infamous statute did not deprive silver of its place as a basis of money. This point was brought up last February during the discussion of the recently enacted Republican currency bill in the United States Senate, and Mr. J. K. Jones, replying to one of his Republican colleagues, said with his usual force:

"I want to call attention to the adroit language of the first paragraph of this bill, in declaring that gold shall be the 'standard unit of value.' You assert that that is a continuation of the present law. That is not true. It is the continuation of the present practice, which is a lawless usurpation on the part of the executive department of the Government, and it is not a continuation of the law.

"The act of 1873 declared that the gold dollar should be the unit of value, and the word 'standard' is not used in the act. The word 'standard' means the particular dollar by which all other dollars are to be measured, and when you make the gold dollar the standard dollar, all others must be measured by it.

"Now, when the act of 1873 was passed, declaring that the gold dollar should be the unit of value, greenbacks were a legal tender, and from then on until 1879 greenbacks, which were below par as measured in gold, were the standard of value, and the only standard of value. All calculations were in greenbacks. Purchases and sales were made in greenbacks, and gold was at a premium. It was bought and sold as any other commodity was bought and sold. It was not current money and the legal tenders were the standard of value.

"The implied assertion in this bill that gold has been the standard of value from 1873 until now is not true in point of fact. In 1878 we provided for the coinage of silver dollars and made them a legal tender to a limited amount. Now, any legal-tender money is a standard of

value. This is true in the very nature of things, and needs no proof. Any legal-tender money is a standard of value. But you undertake here to declare that the only standard, the sole standard, is the one legal tender which is coined in gold, and gold alone. You do this by this bill when you, by law, provide that it alone shall be the standard, for you practically effect this by making other legal tenders only representatives of money and not money."

For twenty-six years after 1873 no one was more strenuous in his devotion to bimetallism than Mr. McKinley and his fellow leaders in the Republican party. Successive National Conventions endorsed planks asserting the parity of the metals and an unfailing loyalty to bimetalism. These professions, as we now know, were hollow, but it is significant that even the leaders of the plutocratic party were not yet ready to renounce the convictions, or at least the professions, of a lifetime and take their stand openly before the world on the side of the gold standard.

In 1896 the Democratic party, tired of this long duplicity, and determined at length to force the issue for honest money, took an open and unequivocal position in favor of the immediate restoration of bimetalism by the independent action of this country at the legal ratio of 16 to 1. Such action was made necessary by the cunningly devised evasions and ambiguities which had prevailed in the platforms, not only of the Republican, but of the Democratic party. The effect was instant and startling. The Democratic party was itself purged of the false friends who had used its house as a refuge for conspiracy against its principles. The Assistant-Republicans in the party went across the line and joined their real friends. With them went a considerable number of less conspicuous individuals to whom the currency question was as yet a new one and who were not yet educated up to the point of endorsing the real Democracy. It is needless in the light of recent developments to say that of these latter all, or nearly all, have since returned to the fold.

The Republicans, on the other hand, were forced to a declaration upon the money question agreeable to the convictions and aims which they long had secretly entertained. The issue was thus sharply defined and the so-called "silver question" became the paramount issue of the campaign.

The money question has lost none of its importance in the past four years. If it no longer occupies the unique position that it held in 1896, it is because the Republicans in their headlong career have forced other,

though collateral, issues into equal prominence. Certainly the Republican party has done nothing in its latest term of power to obscure the importance of the money question. During the campaign four years ago, pursuant to their usual policy of deception, they held out to the large and influential body of the Republican bimetallicists in the West the delusive hope of an international agreement out of which bimetallism would eventually be restored to this country. At the same time Eastern monometallists were given to understand, with scarcely a show of concealment, that these Western professions were for campaign consumption only and would have no force and effect if Mr. McKinley were elected. The intimate nature of these confidential assurances to the gold forces of the East was accidentally revealed to the country a few months ago when Mr. McKinley's Secretary of the Treasury, in a fit of undiplomatic candor, gave to the world a letter from Mr. Hepburn, of the leading bank of New York City, openly asking for favors at the Secretary's hands in return for contributions to the McKinley campaign fund in 1896.

After Mr. McKinley's election the administration continued its "double standard" method of dealing with the people. A commission was sent to Europe with the ostensible purpose of pleading before an impotent tribunal for international bimetallism. It was not expected or desired that this mission should succeed. Indeed, during its hurried progress, Mr. McKinley's Secretary of the Treasury was openly defending monometallism in this country and laboring for its establishment.

The subsequent course of the administration plainly shows that the Secretary's efforts were only the beginning of a conspiracy involving the administration with the plutocratic forces of Wall Street for the fulfillment of this purpose. Mr. McKinley's fulfillment of his oft-repeated promises and professions on behalf of monometallism is written in the currency act passed by the Congress last March and enthusiastically approved by the President. That measure was calculated with all the skill at its author's command to perpetuate the demonetization of silver, fasten the gold standard forever upon the country, and at one stroke defeat the Constitutional provisions on behalf of honest money and stultify all the traditions of the nation.

The currency question is thus more than ever one of vital interest to the people. The Democracy has shown and will show no disposition to avoid or escape its previous professions, or its well established princi-

ples upon the subject. Now, more than ever, the party is for honest money, the money of the Constitution, the money of the people. Never before was the people's need so great of a strong arm raised to defend them against the encroachments of the plutocracy. Since the passage of their infamous currency law, the Republicans have openly boasted, as if it were not a crime, that the money question is "at last settled and settled for good." How true this is will be better known after the election in November, but the boast itself is sufficient indication of what may be expected if the party be continued in power. It is only since 1896, and especially within the past two years, that the Republicans have dared to reveal their full purpose to the country. Four years ago they would not have ventured to assert the principles embodied in their recent legislation. This refusal to take the people into their confidence is not only an evidence of their consciousness that their policy is a dishonest one, but it is entirely in accord with the traditional Republican distrust of the contempt for the common people. From what they have done we may infer what they will do if they are continued in power. They have taken a long step in the direction of the gold standard. They have provided for the substitution of National bank notes for greenbacks. They have placed, in a word, the financial future of the country in the hands of the National bankers. They have handed over to the creditor the fortunes of the debtor class. Here they rest for the moment. But it is plain that they hold in reserve the entire withdrawal of the legal tender function from the silver dollar and the establishment of the branch bank similar to that which Andrew Jackson labored so successfully and so gloriously to destroy. It is no part of their policy during the present campaign to avow these intentions. But with the memory of 1896 present before us we are safe in assuming that by their fruits they are to be known.

As has been intimated, there are now other issues of co-ordinate importance with that of the currency. Trusts, imperialism, militarism, these are three of the evils that have swiftly come to the surface during the past four years. Each of them is of prime importance in the present campaign. And yet, as Mr. Bryan has pointed out, each of them is inexcrably interwoven with the money question. All have the same root. To quote Mr. Bryan's words, "If a man opposes the gold standard, trusts and imperialism—all three—the chances are 100 to 1 that he is in favor of arbitration, the income tax and the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people and is opposed to government by injunc-

tion and the black list. If a man favors the gold standard, the trusts and imperialism—all three—the chances are equally great that he regards the demand for arbitration as an impertinence, defends government by injunction and the black list, views the income tax as ‘a discouragement to thrift,’ and will oppose the election of Senators by the people as soon as he learns that it will lessen the influence of corporations in the Senate. When a person is with the Democrats on one or two of these questions, but not on all, his position on the subordinate questions is not so easily calculated.”

Those advocates of the gold standard who know the real purpose and scope of the gold standard scheme as embodied in the recent Republican currency act, recognize therein no less a project than that to contract the basic money to one-half its present volume and thereby enormously enhance the value of every dollar represented by money, notes and bonds, and proportionately oppress and rob the people who are the real producers of wealth. Mr. Brooks Adams in his work on “The Law of Civilization and Decay” makes this impressive statement:

“It appears to be a natural law that when the social development has reached a certain stage and capital has accumulated sufficiently the class which have had the capacity to absorb it shall try to enhance the value of their property by legislation. This is done most easily by reducing the quantity of the currency which is legal tender for the payment of debts.”

This assertion has a peculiar force and relevancy to the present situation. The men who have absorbed the gold of the world are now trying by legislation to make it more valuable. In a speech upon the Republican currency bill delivered in the United States Senate last February, Mr. William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, discussed this phase of the question with great force and feeling. Mr. Chandler is a Republican and will hardly be accused of bias in favor of the Democratic cause or nominee. A part of his speech may well be quoted here:

“The progress of the demonetization of silver, about which so much has been written and spoken, can be described with reasonable brevity. For many centuries down to 1873, notably for one hundred and eighty-six years, gold and silver coins circulating at ratios of either 14, 15 or 16 to 1 had both been real money—that is to say, neither gold nor silver coins had it been necessary to redeem in any other money. In round numbers, the gold coin of the world was four billions (four thousand millions) of dollars. The silver money of the world was four billions (four thousand

millions). Upon this basis of eight thousand millions of coin, and in addition the gold and silver bullion of the world, which was subject to coinage if required, was built up all the other money of the world—all the paper money of various kinds and all the credits of the world—and this system of paper money and credits built upon metallic money was, on the whole, safe and satisfactory and promotive of the best interests of mankind.

“In 1873 the process of making gold more valuable by legislation was begun. The mints of the various countries one after another were closed against silver coinage. The effect of this closure was retarded by efforts to prevent it. Much gold bullion newly mined was yearly added to the coined money. Only the silver bullion, old and new, was excluded, and that not wholly, for much silver continued to be coined in the United States, and silver bullion was purchased by the Government, reaching in ounces 497,193,855.47 after 1873, and silver was also coined to some extent elsewhere. The four billions of silver coin still remained real money and not promises to pay gold money. The production of gold was stimulated and largely increased. The progress of demonetization was slow, and up to this time its injury to mankind had not been fully realized.

“But any retardation of the movement to make gold more valuable does not suit the gold class. Further steps are therefore now demanded in the interest of that class, namely, that all the existing silver coin shall be put out from the condition of real money and placed in the condition of credit money; that is, money all which must be redeemed on demand in gold. If the progress of this new principle to govern the money of the world which is demanded by the gold class is to prevail in free America, this century is to end practically with no real money in the world except the gold of the world, of which not much over \$4,000,000,000 is coined money, upon which is to be built up all the paper money and all the credits of the world, and in addition the four billions of silver coins which must on demand be redeemed in gold.”

Such indeed is the situation. The real money of the world amounts to \$4,000,000,000 of gold, and the credit money of the world, in which will be included silver, if it be demonetized, will be \$10,000,000,000. Upon this gold and this credit money are to be built all the checks and other credits in trade throughout the world. It is an inverted pyramid. How long would it stand? Mr. Chandler produces the following table, which

shows at a glance the condition of the world's finances which the gold class intend to bring about:

The total gold and silver money of the world is as follows:

Gold	\$4,135,100,000
Full silver	\$3,640,600,000
Subsidiary silver	853,400,000

Total silver	4,494,000,000
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Total metallic money	8,629,100,000
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The paper currency of the world is about as follows:

Bank notes	\$4,062,000,000
Government notes	1,702,900,000

Total	5,764,900,000
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So that the metallic money in gold and silver has been in excess of the paper money.....	2,864,200,000
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But under the proposed gold monometallism the total metallic or real money is the gold money.....	4,135,100,000
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The total money which must be redeemed is—

Silver	\$4,494,000,000
Paper	5,764,900,000
	10,258,900,000

The money which must be redeemed is in excess of the real money by the amount of.....	6,123,800,000
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(See Muhleman on the Monetary Systems of the World, page 177.)

The course of the McKinley administration has had this advantage for the country. It is no longer possible to mistake the position of the Republican party upon the financial question. No longer does any member of the party even profess friendship for silver. Even Mr. McKinley, the least assertive of men in ordinary circumstances, the "emperor of expediency," as he has been called, who is more apt to be guided by his conception of policy than by consideration of real statesmanship, who is more apt to follow than to lead—even he has seen his way clear to advance the position assumed early in the history of his administration by Secretary Gage, and throwing behind him the professions of an entire lifetime has not hesitated to recommend to Congress legislation designed

"to support the existing gold standard." It is interesting, if only as a study in the effect of certain influences upon a presidential mind, to contrast the oft-repeated declarations of McKinley during the period before he had reached his present position in reference to the money question, with the terms of that message delivered to the Congress in December, 1899. Here are some passages from the message:

"In its earlier history the National banking act seemed to prove a reasonable avenue through which needful additions to the circulation could from time to time be made. Changing conditions have apparently rendered it now inoperative to that end. The high margin in bond securities required, resulting from large premiums which Government bonds command in the market, or the tax on note issues, or both operating together, appear to be the influences which impair its public utility.

"The attention of Congress is respectfully invited to this important matter with the view of ascertaining whether or not such reasonable modifications can be made in the National banking act as will render its service in the particulars here referred to more responsive to the people's needs. I again urge that National banks be authorized to organize with a capital of \$25,000.

"I urgently recommend that to support the existing gold standard, and to maintain 'the parity in value of the two metals (gold and silver) and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the market and in the payment of debts,' the Secretary of the Treasury be given additional power and charged with the duty to sell United States bonds and to employ such other effective means as may be necessary to these ends.

"The authority should include the power to sell bonds on long and short time, as conditions may require, and should provide for a rate of interest lower than that fixed by the act of January 14, 1875. While there is now no commercial freight which withdraws gold from the Government, but, on the contrary, such widespread confidence that gold seeks the Treasury, demanding paper money in exchange, yet the very situation points to the present as the most fitting time to make adequate provision to insure the continuance of the gold standard and of public confidence in the ability and purpose of the Government to meet all its obligations in the money which the civilized world recognizes as the best. The financial transactions of the Government are conducted upon a gold basis.

"We receive gold when we sell United States bonds and use gold for

their payment. We are maintaining the parity of all the money issued or coined by authority of the Government. We are doing these things with the means at hand. Happily at the present time we are not compelled to resort to loans to supply gold. It has been done in the past, however, and may have to be done in the future. It behooves us, therefore, to provide at once the best means to meet the emergency when it arises, and the best means are those which are most certain and economical. Those now authorized have the virtue neither of directness nor economy.

"We have already eliminated one of the causes of our financial plight and embarrassment during the years 1893, 1894, 1895 and 1896. Our receipts now equal our expenditures; deficient revenues no longer create alarm. *Let us remove the only remaining cause by conferring the full and necessary power on the Secretary of the Treasury, and impose upon him the duty to uphold the present gold standard and preserve the coins of the two metals on a parity with each other, which is the repeatedly declared policy of the United States.*

"In this connection I repeat my former recommendations, that a portion of the gold holdings shall be placed in a trust fund, from which greenbacks shall be redeemed upon presentation, but when once redeemed shall not thereafter be paid out except for gold."

At this late day it seems strange to hear, even in high places, an echo of the old cry so familiar four years ago that the United States would not be able, without the aid of other nations, to maintain a given ratio between gold and silver. So well informed a man as Senator Allison, of Iowa, permitted himself to make this plea during the recent debate upon the currency bill. Senator Jones at once pointed out to him that this supposed fear is not entertained by well informed persons who are aloof from the exigencies of a presidential campaign. Lord Aldenham, a director of the Bank of England, and for thirty years one of the leading business men of the world, stated the candid English view on this subject when he said in answer to a direct question that the United States alone could, in his opinion, perform this perfectly simple feat. This country, as Senator Cockrell declared in the course of the same debate, "can make any laws on the financial question it desires, and it is a disgrace to our people and our race to say we cannot maintain a financial system at the ratio of 16 to 1, or 15½ to 1."

"I do not want any alliance with any other nation," said the Senator

from Missouri, "I do not want any assistance from any other nation. I believe we are great enough and powerful enough, with resources inexhaustible, with manufactures increasing year by year, and with the doors open to the transportation of these products to oriental countries, we can absorb all the silver that will ever come to our mints and then not have enough, and yet have sufficient gold in our country to meet every obligation and at no premium.

"France and the Latin Union, unaided, maintained bimetallism from 1785 down to 1873, for our ratio of 16 to 1 was no aid to them. They maintained it, and their resources combined are not one-half, not one-fourth, of the resources and power of the United States today. We can maintain it. France did it. We can maintain it without any aid from any other nation. Other nations can not do without silver.

"What has become of the silver that has been produced since 1873? You can not find 20,000,000 ounces of it on earth, except in coin money and ornaments. I challenge any man to deny this. You can not do it. It has all been absorbed; it has all been consumed, because every nation has to use it as money and will have to do it for all time to come. You can not use gold as small money, as dollars, half dollars, quarter dollars, dimes, nickels, and pennies, but you have to use silver.

"Every nation is using it, and you can not take it away from them. Even their own governments can not do that. Germany can not take the thalers away from the German people. They are maintained there today. So it is with England; England can not take her silver away from her people, because 95 per cent. of all the transactions of the people of London today are carried on in silver. There is no danger. Lay aside your fears. They are only nightmare dreams. There is no real danger. You will have no flood of silver, you will have no great inflation."

That debate was fruitful of notable utterances by notable men. Senator Teller, who followed his colleague from Missouri upon the floor, touched upon a very serious phase of the question when he referred to the increasing power of National banks as factors in our financial legislation. "We have seen something of the power of the National banks," said the Senator from Colorado. "Within a short time we have seen one of the great banks, through its vice-president, appealing to the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit large sums of the Government moneys in its coffers upon the theory that it, or its directors, had rendered valuable service during the last campaign to the political party in power."

Mr. Teller, after quoting in the Senate Mr. Hepburn's letter to Secretary Gage already referred to, proceeded as follows:

"I like to believe that the American people and the American officials are honest; I like to believe that they pursue proper methods. But here is a letter which ought to have gone back to the man who wrote it with a blistering reply from the Secretary of the Treasury; but it did not. It is put upon the files of the department. Why? Because subsequent events indicate very strongly that the Secretary of the Treasury intended to comply with that request, and to comply with it as a reward for services rendered in a political campaign.

"Mr. President, I have not the language in which to express, and I shall not trust myself to try to express, what I think and feel about such a transaction as that; but when I see bank presidents and Secretaries of the Treasury acting not in the interests of the American people, but in the way of reward for what some man has done politically, I do not want these banks to get any greater power in this country than they have now; I do not want to see the time when they shall say, as they may, 'We will make money dear in this country,' or 'We will make it cheap.' Mr. President, we often hear of the high sense of honor which is said to exist among banking men, but I have no doubt the man who wrote that letter is as much respected and honored as any other man in the banking circles of New York, for what he did the rest of them are doing—they are getting their reward for their support of the political organization now in power."

Four years ago a widespread understanding, cunningly fostered by the gold leaders, prevailed in the East in regard to the production of silver and gold throughout the world, but particularly in that portion of the United States west of the Mississippi river. The fear was fomented of an "over-production of silver." Not only the "common people," so-called, but many of those whose professions and training should have given them better information on public questions, surrendered their judgment to this insane delusion. That eminent financier and ex-Democrat, William C. Whitney, in an interview in a New York paper said: "If the country is not being drowned in a flood of silver, it is at any rate being scared to death by the fear of such a deluge."

This delusion, which has not yet been wholly dispelled, arose primarily from the inspired public speeches and newspaper utterances of the gold advocates. It was also due in no small degree to the grossly

unfair practice of these same advocates of contrasting the products of silver and gold for short periods ostensibly favorable to their conclusion. And also the statistics of a single nation instead of those of the whole world. Honest and intelligent consideration of the question of the production of silver shows at a glance the unfairness of these methods. The annual product of silver and gold is but a drop compared with the world's total store of those metals which is the accumulation of centuries and from all nations. For one year or one decade, either silver or gold may pass the other in the race. But when the count is taken of centuries, or even half centuries, the production of the two money metals is always found to be approximately equal in value. The eminent statistician, Mulhall, estimates the world's total production of silver and gold for the 500 years, 1380 to 1880, as follows:

Silver	\$7,435,000,000
Gold	7,240,000,000

Or 50 6-10 of silver and 49 4-10 per cent of gold. During the 100 years, 1792 to 1892, the ratio was 47 3-10 of silver and 52 7-10 per cent of gold. During the last half century it was 43 3-10 silver and 56 7-10 per cent of gold. Or, taking the entire century, approximately 40 per cent silver, 60 per cent gold. Silver forged ahead of gold in the ten years from 1886 to 1895. But the more precious metal has more recently gained the ascendancy. Indeed, one of the anomalies of the gold propaganda is that the identical persons who were lately raising the alarm lest the country should be flooded with silver are not pointing out that the recent great production of gold in the Klondike and South Africa will suffice to maintain the supply of the more precious metal on a par with the demands of commerce. Of this latter claim it can simply be said that it is not true. The most eminent authorities on the subject have estimated that the entire annual output of the gold mines of the world is regularly consumed in the arts. Prof. Edward Suess of the Vienna University issued a pamphlet only a few years ago stating at great length his reasons for maintaining this contention. Other experts have placed the consumption in the arts variously at from 75 to 90 per cent of the annual output. And when to the arts is added the loss of metal by abrasion and similar causes it will be seen that mother earth can, at the most, be expected to yield a supply of the yellow metal annually sufficient to maintain the accumulation of the ages. There will be no increase

proportionate to the increased demands of business, nor is it desired by the gold men that there should be. The essence of their design upon the people is not to expand, but to contract the supply of the basic metal. That was their purpose when they sought the demonetization of silver. It is easier to corner gold alone than to corner both gold and silver.

This struggle between monometallism and bimetallism is world-wide, and it must go on until silver is once more a money metal, equal with gold or until the gold standard is universal. It will not suffice to consider merely the volume of money in this country at this time. Our supply of gold has been largely increased during the last three years and nobody is more surprised or less pleased at this phenomenon than the gold men themselves. They neither promised nor expected such an increase. But as against this temporary and local phenomenon place the action of England in establishing the gold standard in India, which is certain in time to cause a drain not only upon our gold supply, but upon that of all European countries. "The gold blanket," as Mr. Bryan says, "must now be stretched to cover nearly 300,000,000 of people in South Asia, and China is yet to be considered."

There is no occasion in this campaign to discuss the ratio of 16 to 1, because on this subject there is only one sentiment among the sincere friends of bimetallism. "There is," says Mr. Bryan, "a positive, earnest and active force behind the legal ratio of 16 to 1. There is no positive, earnest or active force behind any other ratio."

Nor for that matter is it longer necessary to discuss international bimetallism. The contest upon this question must be between those who believe in the gold standard on the one side and on the other side those who believe in a financial policy made by the American people for themselves. And it is only Americans of the gold standard party who doubt or pretend to doubt the perfect capacity of this nation to make its own financial policy independent of any other power on earth. The whole question, if fully understood, reduces itself to a struggle between the masses who produce the wealth of the country and the money holders and bond-owning classes who are seeking to corner that wealth.

Not the least odious feature of the Republican currency bill is that which is intended ultimately to transfer the governmental function of issuing paper money to the national banks. It was to this end that the privilege was granted to create national banks upon a capital as low as \$25,000, that an enormous volume of new bonds (amounting to nearly

\$800,000,000) was provided for and that the banks were permitted to issue their own notes for the full amount of bonds deposited in the treasury. The gold men as a rule favor national bank notes as against greenbacks. The Democracy believes that the issue of paper money is and should remain a function of government. A currency issued and controlled by banks and secured by government bonds is bound to create a paper money trust and must, if it is to be permanent, rest upon a perpetual and increasing national debt. Mr. Teller touched upon this phase of the case in the speech already quoted from, when he said:

“Mr. President, in 1893, when we repealed the Sherman act, I predicted that the attack would be made upon the greenbacks and silver certificates which is now being made by all the people who are demanding ‘financial reform.’

“We have not heard very much of it here, I admit, for it is not a very popular thing to go before the American people and propose the destruction of their paper money, whether it be silver certificates or greenbacks. You are not doing very much loud talking about it, but you are pursuing the same course that those who are doing the talking are pursuing—and every man who votes for this bill knows, or ought to know—and this destruction of these forms of paper money is to be the logical result of its passage. That is why it is being pressed here; and, as I said yesterday, and I repeat it now, I feel from my heart we are surrendering every public declaration made previous to 1896 by the great party now in power. That party has declared that we are incapable of creating our own metallic money, except by the interference and consent of foreign powers, and then we turn over that well known prerogative of sovereignty, which never ought to be surrendered—the right to make money—to the corporations of the country.”

And in the course of the same debate Senator Turner, of Washington, declared:

“Mr. President, this process of retiring our own money in order to give the banks a monopoly of furnishing the money supply will require an issue of bonds to the amount of \$792,767,289. At 3 per cent per annum, the amount fixed by each of these measures, this will cost the taxpayers every year the sum of \$23,783,018.67. If we adopt twenty years as the average life of the bonds, the taxpayers will have paid at the end of that time for the privilege of further enriching the national banks and investing them with autocratic power the sum of \$475,660,373.40. These things

come high to the taxpayer, but in this day and age, when our financial institutions are found contributing \$15,000,000 to one political party in a single political campaign, the interests of the taxpayers, who have nothing but votes to give, and who can be bamboozled into giving them, are a secondary consideration.'

In an article recently published in the New York Journal Mr. Bryan discussed the same subject at greater length. He wrote:

"The advocates of the gold standard have a double purpose: First, they desire to make gold the only legal tender for the payment of debts, public and private. I have discussed this question on former occasions and pointed out that the necessary effect of such a law would be to create a greater demand for gold, which would then be the only money legally available for the payment of debts, and thus aid the money-owning class and injure the wealth-producing class.

"The second purpose of the advocates of the gold standard is to make bank notes the only credit money.

"I beg to submit a few arguments in support of the greenback as against the bank note. The greenback is issued by the government, and the volume of such money is determined by the people, acting through their representatives. The Supreme Court has held that such a money can be made a legal tender. When a man has greenbacks in his pocket he has money which is available for the payment of his debts; if he has bank notes, his money is only good when the creditor is willing to accept the money.

"During the war, when gold and silver were at a premium, bank notes circulated on a level with greenbacks and were never worth any more, the reason being that national bank notes are payable in lawful money, and the greenback being lawful money (and at that time the cheapest money) was used by the banks for the redemption of bank notes. It is interesting now to hear these same bankers, who redeemed bank notes in paper when gold and silver were at a premium of over a hundred per cent, talk about the dishonesty of a debtor, whether the debtor be an individual or the government, who would redeem his obligations in anything but the dearest money.

"The bank note has been good because it has had behind it the bonds and the greenbacks issued by the government. If the greenback is good enough to stand behind the bank note it is good enough to stand alone without any bank note in front of it.

"A national bank currency is objectionable because it is gross favoritism extended to a few. A bill reported by the House Committee on Coinage, Weights and Measures in the last Congress provided:

"First, that the Treasurer of the United States pay out gold coin in redemption of greenbacks and Treasury notes; second, that the Secretary of the Treasury have authority to issue gold bonds, drawing not more than 3 per cent, to secure the gold to maintain gold redemption; third, that national banks be allowed to deposit bonds and receive bank notes up to the par value of the bonds so deposited; fourth, that the tax on the national banks be reduced. If this plan goes into operation, the difference in its effect upon the individual and the national bank may be stated as follows: The greenbacks are to be retired and bonds issued. This will mean an increase in taxes to pay the interest upon the bonds. The individual who enjoys no special privileges will find his taxes increased, while the national bank, that enjoys special privileges, will find its tax diminished.

"Second, if the individual buys a bond at par, he will lose the use of his money and must content himself with the 3 per cent interest. If a national bank invests its capital in bonds at par, it can deposit the bonds and secure bank notes to the face value of the bonds, thus securing a return of its investment, and in addition to that it can draw 3 per cent interest upon the bonds. In other words, the individual parts with his money and draws interest, while the national bank gets its money back and draws interest besides. The individual must eat his cake or keep it. The national bank both eats its cake and keeps it. This is favoritism that ought not to be tolerated in a government which recognizes the doctrine of equality before the law. The moment the government begins to confer special privileges those in a position to profit by favoritism begin to clamor for legislation immediately in their interest, and as a result the instrumentalities of government are used for private gain and the true purpose of government forgotten.

"There is another objection to the national bank currency, namely, that the national banks are given control over the volume of credit money. Power to issue money should never be intrusted to private individuals or private corporations. Jefferson was an opponent of banks of issue, and in one of his letters declared that his opposition was so persistent that he had been denounced as a maniac by those bankers who desired to secure this privilege from the government. Benton, in summing

up the work of Jackson, gave emphasis to his fight with the national bank, and compared his work with the work of Cicero, saying that when he destroyed the bank conspiracy he saved America as Cicero had saved Rome by overthrowing the conspiracy of Cataline.

“Wendell Phillips has so well described the danger of allowing private individuals to control the volume of money that I quote from a speech made by him a few years before his death :

“ ‘In other words, it was the currency which, rightly arranged, opened a nation’s well springs, found work for willing hands to do, and filled them with a just return, while honest capital, daily larger and more secure, ministered to a glad prosperity. Or it was currency, wickedly and selfishly juggled, that made merchants bankrupt and starved labor into discontent and slavery, while capital added house to house and field to field, and gathered into its miserly hands all the wealth left in a ruined land.

“ ‘The first question, therefore, in an industrial nation is: Where ought control of the currency to rest? In whose hands can this almost omnipotent power be trusted? Every writer of political economy, from Aristotle to Adam Smith, allows that a change in the currency alters the price of every ounce and yard of merchandise and every foot of land. Whom can we trust with this despotism? At present the banks and the money kings wield this power. They own the yardstick, and can make it longer or shorter, as they please. They own every pound weight and can make it heavier or lighter, as they choose. This explains the riddle, so mysterious to the common people, that those who trade in money always grow rich, even while those who trade in other things go into bankruptcy.’

“The third objection to national banks of issue is that the moment the national bank is permitted to issue money, that moment it becomes, for pecuniary reasons, the enemy of any government paper.

“The banks are now urging that the issue of paper money is a function of the banks and that the government ought to go out of the banking business. Our answer is that the issue of money is a function of government and that the banks ought to go out of the governing business. The government can not afford to build up a strong financial interest hostile to the exercise, by the government, of the right to issue and control both the metallic and paper money of the nation.

“Our national bank circulation rests upon government bonds, and

cannot in amount exceed the total sum of bonds outstanding. Hence, if the banks are to supply an increasing amount of currency to meet the needs of increasing population and business, the national debt must perpetually increase."

The whole question ultimately leads to this: Fully twenty-five years ago the governing classes of Europe—the creditor class—determined that silver should cease to be money. Within a comparatively short time they were able to stop the coinage of that metal in nearly every mint on the continent. Now their influence has been made effective in the United States—how, a patriotic American blushes even to surmise, especially when he remembers that, despite its great wealth, his is still a debtor nation and the demonetization of silver here means the doubling of their burdens for the toilers who have themselves borrowed money or must pay the heavier share of the public debt. Only the Democracy now stands between the people and the full realization of this crime. The Republican party is now openly committed to the policy of spoliation. Openly and brazenly committed, for it no longer has the excuse of ignorance which has availed to shelter some of their number from the full responsibility for the crime of 1873. Since that event their leaders have confessed.

Mr. McKinley, in a public speech at Toledo, Ohio, as late as February 12, 1891, said:

"During all of Grover Cleveland's years at the head of the government he was dishonoring one of our precious metals, one of our own products, discrediting silver and enhancing the price of gold. He endeavored even before his inauguration to office to stop the coinage of silver dollars, and afterwards and to the end of his administration persistently used his power to that end. He was determined to contract the circulating medium and to demonetize one of the coins of commerce, limit the volume of money among the people, make money scarce, and therefore dear. He would have increased the value of money and diminished the value of everything else—money the master, everything else the servant. He was not thinking of 'the poor' then. He had left 'their side.' He was not standing forth in their defense. Cheap coats, cheap labor, and dear money! The sponsor and promoter of these professing to stand guard over the welfare of the poor and lowly! Was there ever more inconsistency or reckless assumption!"

The Republican party platform in 1892 contained this plank:

"The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallism, and the Republican party demand the use of both gold and silver as a standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. We commend the wise and patriotic steps taken by our government to secure an international conference and adopt such measures as will insure a parity between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world."

The leaders of this same party are now exultingly proclaiming that "the silver question is dead." It is not dead, but if it were, there might be written on its tombstone "Dead in the home of its friends; murdered by the author of it being."

It will be a part of the Democracy's fight in this campaign to prevent such violence to a living issue. As a well known orator recently said: The fight is to be renewed on the same lines and under the same leadership. And now that the Republican party has come out into the open, recanted even its hypocritical professions made at St. Louis, become the open advocate of all the industrial trusts, and made itself the father of the great monetary trust erected by the measures now pending and under consideration—the trust of trusts, which is to crush the lifeblood not out of labor alone, but out of every profession, avocation, and pursuit not allied to itself—who can doubt that the enlightened conscience of the nation will at last triumph over the force and fraud and corruption which before stood in its way and which will be again opposed to its just and humane demands?

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRACY

The Democratic party is both conservative and progressive. It is even radical in the sense that it attacks the evils of government at their root. Its platforms and party utterances for a full century have contained the essence of the law and the Constitution. Of the latter instrument it has ever been the only faithful conservator. The progressiveness of the party is proved by the unfailing readiness of the party to apply established truths to new conditions. But from the fundamentals of the truth it has never departed, and never will.

Truth is eternal—always old, ever new. A principle founded on the universal experience of mankind is an infallible rule of conduct for each successive generation.

The Declaration of Independence differs from most national charters in that it asserts not only the rights of country, but the rights of man. Its great author, the founder of the Democratic party, was not merely a patriot, but a lover of his kind; a friend of universal liberty and equal rights. "All men," says his most famous work, "are created equal." Not all Americans merely, but all men. Jefferson, though born in an atmosphere of aristocracy, was an instinctive lover of those whom Lincoln used to call the plain people—the people whom he said "the Lord must love because he made so many of them." Jefferson spent several years in France in the cataclysmal period of the Revolution, and there he imbibed that hatred of oppression and horror of anarchy which inspired all his subsequent acts and writings.

It is necessary at times to hark back to the remote past, if only to find a fitting rebuke for the dishonesty and charlatanry which characterize the present day politics, especially the politics of the party now in power. A large number of the American people have been born and bred in an atmosphere of political hysteria. They reason, as some cynical philosopher has said, with their stomachs and think with their livers. For years following the Civil War it was enough to defeat any measure, however patriotic or reasonable, on its merits that some demagogue should raise the blatant cry of "Traitor!" As lately as

1880 a famous Republican editor, now dead, made the cynical observation in his newspaper that there was "still one more Republican president in the 'bloody shirt.'"

The "bloody shirt" has ceased to be an important factor in American politics, but the "old flag" is still employed to carry an appropriation or cover a steal. This standard, for example, was very much in evidence ten years ago when the Standard Oil syndicate was seeking a \$10,000,000 subsidy in the form of mail contracts for a line of trans-Atlantic steamers. The syndicate did not seek in vain, and even now the American tax-payer is annually footing the bill; whereas the so-called American line of steamers is probably the most un-American institution that enjoys the shelter of the Stars and Stripes. The "old flag" has been seen within a few months, waved by the same hands with the same outcry and for the same purpose, namely, to induce the taxpayer, under pretense of "restoring the Stars and Stripes to the seas," to heap wealth and favors upon rich ship owners whereby they shall be able to drive all competitors from the ocean. Whether this second patriotic scheme shall succeed or not depends entirely upon whether Mr. McKinley, the candidate of all monopolists, shall be re-elected to the presidency.

The same gallant flag is always employed to defend every scheme of the plutocracy: tariffs, imperialism, militarism, all forms of spoliation. It is made also to discredit in the popular mind whatever reform is intended to check these evils; to restrain special privilege, to take government out of the hands of the few and restore it to the people. The proponents of reform, according to this school of patriotism, are always "traitors," or "cranks."

The cry is not a new one. When Jefferson established free public schools in the colony of Virginia to be supported by general taxation, he was denounced as an "atheist," a "socialist" and a "robber." Education in the colony before this time had been a special privilege for the children of the rich. It was in the hands of the clergy to whom it was a source of handsome profit. So not only the church, but the entire wealthy and exclusive class rose as one man against the reformer who dared to suggest that the rich should be taxed to help pay for the education of the poor. A man of less conscience and less courage than Jefferson would have yielded to this clamor and abandoned the reform. It is largely because Jefferson was not of the weakling type that educa-

tion in the United States is now practically universal, the system being formed very closely upon his model.

Against the same opposition the author of the Declaration of Independence effected the disestablishment of the church in his colony. It was he who broke down the mediaeval system under which church and state were united and established freedom of religion by which every man may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. We are perhaps too prone to accept these blessings of liberty as a matter of course, forgetful of the struggles that they cost and of the sublime courage required to procure them at the start. The "fads" of one generation are often the cherished institutions of the next. The blood of the patriot is the seed of liberty.

The same intolerant clamor that assailed Jefferson while he was fighting for free schools and the separation of church and state in the ancient colony on the James survives in our own day to attack any reformer whose idea of popular rights is inimical to the permanence of special privilege. The same classes that rose against the reforms of 100 years ago are to-day the ever ready opponents of all political forms aimed at their exclusive rights.

The friends of the initiative and referendum are familiar with this peculiar form of opposition. They sustain it easily, conscious not only that the measure is just and equitable, but that it is no mere "modern fad." Jefferson was a friend of the initiative and referendum. He strove earnestly to incorporate the system into the new constitution of Virginia which he helped to frame. He proposed that the acts of the legislature should under certain conditions be submitted, for their approval or rejection, to the people. In this he was overruled, but the fact that he favored it proves his wonderful insight of human character and his no less wonderful fore-knowledge of the dangers that were bound to assail the republic. It is almost as if he had an inspired vision of conditions which were to come a century later. He saw then what one hundred years' experience has taught us, that representative government is too often not a government of and by the people. We have learned that, though the people elect their representatives, they cannot always control them or even protect themselves against betrayal or robbery by those whom they elect. He foresaw that the bribe giver would never be able to corrupt all the people, or half of the people, but that he might, could and almost certainly would bribe half a legislature or

even all of it, when there was enough at stake, and that against this evil the people would be powerless to protect themselves.

The Democracy to-day reaffirms this principle of Jefferson and points to the experience of recent years as proof of its wisdom. It is scarcely too much to say that so-called representative government in the United States has become a by-word and a jest. We elect representatives to congress and stand supinely by while they, in defiance of the express will of their constituents, boldly betray the popular interests into the hands of rich and powerful bribe givers. A startling instance was afforded by the recent action of congress upon the Porto Rican tariff bill. It is not forgotten—indeed, it never can be—with what unanimity the people arose to protest against the monstrous proposition of levying a tariff upon these islanders whom we had invited to become fellow citizens of the republic. East and west, north and south there was but one voice heard, and that demanded the fulfillment of those promises upon which the Porto Ricans had flocked to our standards and embraced our allegiance. Yet the voice of the people, thus unmistakably expressed, was powerless against the silent persuasions of the trust lobbyists who flocked to Washington in behalf of the unconstitutional tariff. Not only the congress, but the President of the United States, dared to defy the people, even on the eve of an election, in order to carry out the behests of the monopolists.

Proofs so striking of the unrepresentative character of so-called representative government have happily not been numerous in our history. But if this offense be suffered to go unrebuked, who can say how frequent or how flagrant they will become in the future? Monopoly does not willingly relax its grip. Whatever it has, it holds. It takes no willing step backward. Only the people—only the Democracy—can avail to check a tendency so subversive of the Constitution, so full of menace to the sovereignty of the people. The Democracy accepts the mission. It asserts now, as Jefferson declared more than one hundred years ago, that an unfailing remedy and preventive of such outrages is to be found in the establishment of the referendum. It is a basic principle of the Democracy that everything may safely be left to the people. They may err, but they can always be trusted, because they will always right themselves. The forty years' carnival of lawlessness and dishonor which has reached its climax at the close of this century, could not and

would not have taken place if this simple principle had been in force since the Civil War.

One of the fetiches of the unthinking voter is the supposed infallibility of the federal courts and the sanctity of their life tenure of office. The slightest word raised against these sacred institutions sufficed four years ago to start the whole course of bogus patriots under the leadership of their self-appointed leaders, the plutocrats. But the federal courts are not, as many seem to suppose, of divine origin, or under the special protection of Providence. They were not, in their present form, even a part of the original conception of our government. Jefferson, who knew men as very few have known them before or since his time, was quick to recognize the perils implied in the bestowal of tenure of office upon these judges. He was in Europe while the Constitution was being framed, but from the other side of the Atlantic he sent home a note of alarm over the manner in which his colleagues at home had built up the federal judiciary. Here, he pointed out, was a co-ordinate branch of the republic that was "neither republican nor democratic, but monarchical and aristocratic in character;" holding office for life, responsible to no one. "It has long been my opinion," he wrote to a friend, "and I have never shrunk from its expression, that the germ of dissolution of our federal government is in the constitution of the federal judiciary, an irresponsible body working like gravity by day and by night, gaining a little to-day and a little to-morrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction until all shall be usurped from the States and the government of all become consolidated into one. To this I am opposed, because * * such a government will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which we separated."

In 1800 Jefferson wrote to another friend: "You seem to consider the judges as the ultimate arbiters of all constitutional questions. A very dangerous doctrine indeed and one which would place us under the despotism of an oligarchy. Our judges are as honest as other men and not more so. They have with others the same passion for party, for power and the privilege of their corps. And their power is the more dangerous, as they are in office for life and not responsible, as the other functionaries are, to the elective control. The Constitution has created no such tribunal, knowing that to whatever hands confided, with the corruption of time and of party its members would become despots.

The Constitution has more wisely made all the departments co-ordinate and co-sovereign within themselves." In 1789 Jefferson wrote to Mr. Arnold: "We all know that the permanent judges acquire an *esprit de corps*, that they are liable to be tempted by bribery, that they are misled by favor, by relationship, by a spirit of party, by a devotion to the executive or legislative power. Juries have been the firmest bulwark of English liberty. Were I called on to decide whether the people had best be omitted in the legislative or judiciary department, I would say it is better to leave them out of the legislative."

Here again we have an utterance of the olden time which seems to have been inspired with a truly prophetic vision of what was to come to pass later. For more than one hundred years the republic grew great and rich and powerful, protected life and property, and punished crime. It is only within very recent years that government by injunction has risen to the surface as a reminder that the great founder spoke truly when he said that the men surrounded by aristocratic privilege were almost of necessity bound to become aristocratic in their leanings, their sympathies and their cast of thought.

It is only of late also that the use of the military power as a convenience for private monopoly became a feature of our public life. This is another manifestation of the tendency of special privilege in the hands of the few to become an instrument of oppression against the many. It is an outgrowth of the same aristocratic spirit that confers an important branch of the government upon a few men for life, exempting them from removal or even criticism by the people whose most sacred privileges rest so largely within their discretion. As was seen at Coeur d'Alene last year, an executive obedient to the voice of plutocracy, backed by courts who know no responsibility to the people, can and will make short work of constitutional rights and popular liberty.

The progressive Democracy has always been opposed in its efforts to effect a fair distribution of the burden of taxation, especially since the Civil War. The party in power during this period has always been able to muster a controlling force in every branch of government, to defeat any measure having for its purpose the imposition upon the rich of their fair share of the cost of supporting the government. When the taxes entailed upon the country by that great struggle were gradually removed after its close, the taxes bearing upon the rich were taken off first. Those contributed by the poor were abated but slightly or left

intact, or even, as in the case of the tariff, increased. The Democracy has always opposed the so-called protective tariff because it is fruitful of special privilege and in every way unjust to the common people who bear the burden, not only of the impost itself, but of all the injustices to which it gives rise. As we have seen, the tariff is the "mother of the monopolistic trusts." One of its chief beneficiaries has made this admission in the words quoted which have now become historic. The tariff has been retained and even augmented in its power for evil because its beneficiaries, now risen through its operations to the rank and estate of multi-millionaires, are more powerful in our legislative and executive halls than the people themselves.

For reasons wholly similar the Democracy opposed the abolition of the income tax—the rich man's tax—after the Civil War. Herein the party had the support of a few Republicans whose intelligence and sense of justice was superior to that of their party colleagues. Senator Sherman, of Ohio, was one of these and his words may be quoted here for the benefit of those enlightened patriots who love to class the income tax with other reforms which, because they are beyond their understanding, or without the pale of self-interest, are denounced as idle theories and crankeries. Mr. Sherman's protest in the Senate against the repeal of the income tax was voiced in these words:

"I hope that after full discussion, nobody will vote for striking out the income tax. It seems to me to be one of the plainest propositions in the world. Put before the people of the United States the question whether the property of this country cannot stand a tax of \$20,000,000, when the consumption of the people stands a tax of \$300,000,000, and I think they will quickly answer it. The property-holders of the country came here and demanded the repeal of the only tax that bears upon their property, when we have to tax everything, the food of the poor, the clothing of the poor, and all classes of our people \$300,000,000."

In several successive Congresses attempts have been made in the name and with the support of the Democracy, to secure an amendment to the federal Constitution providing for the direct election of Senators in Congress by the people whom they are supposed to represent. These measures have in several instances been passed by the House of Representatives, they have invariably been defeated in the Senate. A sharp line is drawn here between the rights, interests and demands of the people and those of the plutocracy. In the course of the years our gov-

ernment has so shaped itself that the Senate is now the most potent single factor at Washington. It has gradually acquired virtual control of all federal patronage. It does not hesitate to dictate to the President. It exercises a power of veto which has always sufficed at will to nullify the action of the popular branch of the federal legislature.

With this increase of power has come an increase of arrogance, until to-day the most powerful and relentless enemy of popular rights in the United States is the United States Senate. It is the American House of Lords.

It is only a corollary to this proposition that the United States Senate is a body made up almost exclusively of very rich men and their attorneys. The Senators no longer even pretend to represent the people. They go to Washington as the avowed agents of organized wealth. It is more than a jest and no less than the truth that they have become a "millionaires' club."

Beyond a doubt this unenviable character in the supposedly higher branch of our federal legislation is due in great part, if not altogether, to the manner of the election of Senators. Organized wealth has not been slow to discover how much easier and simpler it is to purchase the election of these important functionaries in the Legislatures of the respective States than it would be at the polls. As a consequence the successive elections of Senators in Congress at the various State capitals have become occasions for the most shameless and revolting coercions and bribery. It would not be difficult, if need were, to name Senators of apparent good standing among their fellows, members of important committees, shapers of vital legislation, advisers of the executive who owe their places entirely to the depth of their pockets and the unscrupulous manner in which they have emptied them.

The Democracy has demanded, and will not cease to demand that this evil be corrected by removing its first and most obvious cause. Moreover, it is entirely consistent with Democratic principles that the representatives of the people should in every way possible be brought nearer and nearer still to the people whom they represent.

For the better protection of the people and their rights also, the Democracy continues to insist upon the federal ownership of the telegraphs, telephones and parcel expresses, and the municipal ownership of such public utilities as the manufacture of gas, the distribution of water and the operation of street cars and electric plants. This is not the place to elaborate the principles upon which these reforms are

based. It will suffice to say that no small part of the corruption in our politics, both local and national, is due to the private ownership of these great properties whose value rests so largely upon the operation of public franchises, the use of public property. So long as these franchises involving the use of public streets and highways for private profit are in the market, so long will the rich bribe-giver conspire with the bribe-taking public official to betray the people. Every city, and especially every large city in America, is full of examples of this abuse of wealth and power. The methods of operation are similar in all cases. The openness and audacity with which they are practiced increases from year to year.

The progressive Democracy stands unequivocally for direct legislation by the people, for the initiative and referendum. The question came before the platform committee of the Democratic National Convention four years ago in Chicago, but was set aside by a narrow majority upon the question of expediency. The developments of the succeeding four years have been such as favor such a declaration at this time with renewed emphasis.

This is another of those so-called "reforms" commonly ascribed by the ignorant and dishonest to the whimsicality of the crank and faddist. But no intelligent man is ignorant that direct legislation was an integral part of our original government—as it must be of any government of and for the people. Indeed it is favored by the Democracy for no other reason than that it tends to the restoration to the people of the rights to govern themselves in their own way. The old town meeting, sacred to New England memories, was no more or less than a form of direct legislation. The people gathered and spoke their will, which thus became the highest law.

Increase of population, and especially the growth of cities, has made this primitive form impracticable, and with this drifting away from the original methods have come evils of increasing magnitude which seem, some of them at least, to have reached their climax in the past four years. To meet these evils and to restore to the people the voice which had been taken from them in the management of their own affairs, the Democracy favors any method tending to restore direct legislation, and the initiative and referendum are the most practicable of any hitherto suggested.

Here again it is not necessary to confine ourselves to speculation and argument, because so many concrete examples of fact are within easy

reach. The city of San Francisco has adopted the initiative and referendum in respect to all ordinances and amendments to the charter to which the people choose to apply them, and the results have been such as to encourage the extension of the system elsewhere. Several cities of California have already followed the example of the coast metropolis. So has Seattle, Washington, a city of 42,000 inhabitants. Farther east, the charter of Greater New York was submitted to the people for approval or rejection, an instance of the referendum principle, which, however, was not embodied in the charter itself. In no less than five States municipalities have been given the right to adopt home-made charters by referendal vote. It is coming more and more to be the custom in special legislative grants of franchises to insert a clause requiring submission of the matter to a vote of the people. The municipal referendum on local bond issues is now almost a universal custom. In 1897 Nebraska passed a law requiring municipal direct legislation on a 15 per cent petition. A similar law was passed in South Dakota in the following year. Direct legislation amendments or laws have indeed been introduced in almost every legislature in the country.

This revival of an old form belongs in its most active exercise to recent years. It is no exaggeration to say that the movement has taken tremendous hold upon the people. The time is not far away when the opponents of direct legislation will be a minority much smaller and much more contemptuously treated by the majority than its advocates have ever been in the past. It is known, of course, that the system exists in its fullest development in the republic of Switzerland, where popular government in its purest form to-day exists.

In our own country the supporters of direct legislation include such prominent Democrats as William J. Bryan and George Fred Williams, such Republicans as John Wanamaker, Governor Pingree, Senator Irwin and Congressman McEwan; such Prohibitionists as ex-Gov. St. John; such Populists as Senator Marion Butler and Chief Justice Doster, and such other eminent men as Henry D. Lloyd, B. O. Flower, Prof. R. T. Ely, Prof. John R. Common, Prof. E. W. Bemis, William Dean Howells, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Dr. George C. Lorrimer, the Rev. Washington Gladden, Samuel Gompers and Eugene V. Debs. The Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union with 3,000,000 members, and the American Federation of Labor, nearly 1,000,000 in number, besides the Knights of Labor, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Order of Railway Conductors;

in a word, practically all organized labor is heartily in favor of the movement and a considerable number of the unions employ the initiative and referendum with success in their own affairs. The movement has been endorsed by more than 3,000 newspapers and magazines in the United States; by church conferences, Christian Endeavor Societies, Epworth Leagues, Good Roads Associations and numerous other societies of high standing. In a letter to Mr. Frank Parsons, dated May 22, 1897, Wm. Dean Howells stated his views thus: "I am altogether in favor of initiative and referendum as the only means of allowing the people really to take part in making their laws and governing themselves."

Perhaps the case was never better stated than by Mr. H. D. Lloyd when he wrote: "Direct legislation, the initiative and referendum, must be supported by every believer in free government. The people have carelessly allowed their delegates in party, corporation and government to become their rulers, and now they are awakening to the startling fact that the delegate has become their exploiter. The people are losing control of their means of subsistence because they have lost control of their government, the most powerful instrumentality for the creation and distribution of wealth in society. Its government must be recovered by the American people. Direct legislation would be the ideal means for this peaceable revolution. No future republic will ever repeat the mistake of giving its delegates the opportunity to become its members."

William Jennings Bryan has spoken with his usual clearness and force upon this important subject. "Democracy," he says, "is not merely a party name. Democracy has a meaning. Democracy means a government in which the people rule and that is all we ask for. We are willing to submit any question that concerns the people of this country to the people themselves. The principle of the initiative and referendum is democratic. It will not be opposed by any Democrat who endorses the declaration of Jefferson that the people are capable of self government, nor will it be opposed by any Republican who holds to Lincoln's idea that this should be a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Mr. Tom L. Johnson's paper, "Trusts and the Remedy," read before the Chicago Anti-Trust Conference, has attracted so much attention among thinking men, and in the main so well defines the attitude of the progressive Democracy towards the evil of special privilege, that the substance of it may well be incorporated herewith.

Mr. Johnson has perhaps had as large a practical experience with problems involving organization and large capital as any man holding his views on the subject. He believes in the absolute freedom of combination and competition for corporations, as well as individuals. He stands for what he calls the "natural order." "It is plain to my mind," he says, "that competition is the natural order among free men and that immense benefits to the whole community result therefrom. Not the least of the benefits is the fact that competition under proper conditions results in combinations of individuals and aggregations of their capital and of their ability."

The evil is not in the aggregation of capital, but in the bestowal of special privilege, and this evil, he says, would exist in quite as great a degree if the privilege were conferred upon a partnership or upon an individual. "It must be plain to everybody that the right of incorporation or the right of combination and aggregation has nothing to do with the evil. Just to the extent that the law imposes restrictions upon some men and not on others; just to the extent that the law grants special privileges to some which others cannot have, will the public suffer from the evils of trusts. * * * If we change the law so that it will be impossible for some men to acquire these kinds of advantages over others, we shall have removed substantially all the evils of trusts that are now complained of."

These restrictions and special privileges Mr. Johnson classifies under five heads:

Patent monopolies.

Municipal monopolies.

Transportation monopolies.

Taxation monopolies.

Land monopoly.

Taking these in their order Mr. Johnson says of patent monopolies that they "are supported by the argument that they encourage inventions and development of the useful arts. I do not believe that they really have this effect. On the contrary, they cut off from us the opportunity to take immediate advantage of the world's inventions; they exert upon men an influence as baneful as the most corrupt lottery, by tempting them from regular work and useful occupations; and they interfere with what, in my judgment, is the natural development of inven-

tion. Useful inventions come naturally, and almost inevitably as the next necessary step in industrial evolution. Most of them are never patented, and the patents that are granted interfere with the natural development."

The remedy which Mr. Johnson suggests is "to repeal the patent laws which would at once limit this particular form of governmental favor to not more than seventeen years, being the life of the longest existing patent." "If inventors must be rewarded," he says, "would it not be better to pay them a bounty than to continue a system productive of so much evil. We could then measure accurately, in dollars at least, the cost of the folly." This is, however, the expression of an individual Democrat, not having found echo in any party platform.

Mr. Johnson's treatment of municipal monopolies is no less interesting. These, he says, consists of rights and special privileges in the public streets and highways, which in the nature of the case cannot be possessed by all the people and can only be enjoyed by a few.

"A constant struggle goes on to obtain such privileges with the result of checking and retarding for a long time necessary public improvements.
* * * They can be best carried on with the best results to the public under a single management and with a single consistent policy. Where competition prevails in such businesses almost invariably the public service is inefficient and defective. Wherever there is unity the condition of things is much better."

This naturally leads Mr. Johnson up to the proposition, "to enlarge the functions of municipality so that the means of transportation and communication and the supply of water and light shall be furnished by public authority and not by private enterprise, and to extend this principle to its logical result of taking under public administration all businesses which require the grant of any special right or privilege."

After pointing out that the world has already made some progress towards this desideratum, Mr. Johnson asks: "Why not go on till there shall be no more private property in special grants or franchises and until all business requiring such grants shall be carried on by the municipality? * * * The evils which a great many timid people fear as likely to arise from enlarging the scope of the functions of municipality are trivial in comparison with the evils which are inseparable from the present system. As long as the great rewards which these monopolies offer to private enterprises are possible, your industries will be ham-

pered, your politics will be corrupted by bribery and fraud, and your people will have to pay unnecessarily high prices for these kinds of service, and service of a poor quality."

Mr. Johnson is not in any sense an apostle of physical revolution or indeed of revolution of any kind. "I would not," he says, "advocate any disregard of existing rights or any confiscation of existing property. It would be no violation of existing rights for cities to erect their own plants and to compete for the business, as they could readily and successfully do with the present private owners. It would be no violation of existing rights for cities to use their tax power so as to compel the present private owners to bear the same proportion of public burden according to the value of their property, including franchises which owners of other kinds of private property have to bear. It would be no violation of existing rights * * * for the cities or states to regulate fares and rates of compensation so as to make them yield only a fair return on the actual investment made rather than upon a fictitious capitalization based mainly upon franchises or special privilege value. In short, municipalities ought not to hesitate what private persons in business do as a matter of course. * * * They should take advantage of every right that is left to themselves to get rid of the present system and substitute therefor a regime of public ownership and operation."

Of the transportation monopolies, which include freight lines, sleeping car companies, express and telegraph companies, Mr. Johnson, for the sake of greater clearness, restricts himself to railroads alone. What he says on that subject may be quoted here for its application to other forms of monopoly. After dwelling briefly upon the sequence of events by which the railroads, from being in their original public highways like wagon roads, have come to be regarded as private highways subject to private ownership and control. Mr. Johnson proceeds to the next step in railroad history, namely, the combination of lines into systems and of small systems into great ones. "This centralizing movement," he says, "has within the past decade proceeded so fast that now substantially the whole railroad business of the United States is under the control of a score of men. * * * This is a natural process. Concentration means greater economy in operation and greater public facilities, and must occur wherever railroad development is given free play under present conditions, whether under private ownership or under public ownership, as in continental Europe and Australia."

"But let us anticipate the end of this perfectly natural tendency. We must see the appearance of one directing mind, the kingpin, the dictator, the supreme monarch in the railroad world. Compare in your mind's eye the powers of such a man with the powers of the President of the United States. Who would command more men? Who receive the larger revenues? Who have the greater control of the pockets of the people? In short, whose favors would be more courted? * * * Which would have the dominant power—the man representing the people or the man representing privilege; the one voted for by men or the one voted for by shares of stock?"

Concerning the efficacy of existing legislation, Mr. Johnson then asks, "Can interstate commerce commissions prevent these conditions? Why, railroad owners themselves cannot prevent it, for it is in the natural order. If government control failed before railroads were consolidated, what can it do after consolidation is perfected? If discriminating rates have worked such evils on trade in the past, what must be their effect in the future? If railroads have hitherto controlled legislation, what will they do when all their power is vested in one man?"

What then is the remedy? Socialism, as Mr. Johnson points out, would put all production and distribution in the hands of government. The philosophy of the "natural order," he says, which, unlike socialism, has for its object to promote competition and place as little power as possible in the hands of the government, would seek the remedy in throwing the steam highways open to general use. He can see why socialists point to railroad centralization under present conditions as the "greatest standing indictment of the competitive system." He can even understand why they insist that, competition having broken down, the only alternative of present railroadism, is government ownership and operation. But, he says, "We of the 'natural order' recognize that these evils flow from a denial of competition and demand simply the abolition of governmental favor as the source of the evil. They condemn the natural order of competition; we condemn privilege, a law-made advantage."

Railroad taxation affords another glaring example of inequality. "Assuming the railroads of the State to be valued at sixty per cent of the market value of their securities, it will be found that they pay less than four-tenths of one per cent in taxes. This discrimination in favor of railroad property is almost universal in the United States. In the State of Michigan, under what is called a specific tax on earnings, it is even

greater than in New York. The reason for this is that large interests make the most persistent effort to shape or dodge the payment of their fair share of taxation."

Mr. Johnson's ideas as to the remedy for these manifest evils are his own. In some respects they go beyond the limits of practicable reform set by the progressive Democracy. But his conclusions are already instructive, and his strictness upon the evils of special privilege as applied to the labor problem will commend themselves to any patriotic American.

"Governmental favors such as we have seen," he says, "force men into an unnatural competition with each other for the opportunity to employ themselves; whereas the opening up of nature's store-house to laborers would so multiply opportunities that wages would naturally rise. For just in proportion as monopoly takes less of the product of labor, there will be more to divide as interest to capital and as wages to labor. The demands of privilege work against men in two ways. They create conditions in which production is lessened, and of this smaller production, they take a constantly increasing share. We advocates of the natural order see in the evils of trusts conditions that in good times force willing men into idleness, in bad times cause the strike, the lockout and the army of unemployed, and at all times work to produce the pauper and the tramp."

CHAPTER X.

THE PROBLEM OF MONOPOLY

Regarding the larger question of the government ownership of telegraphs and similar utilities of national importance, it might seem almost needless to urge its desirability upon the American people but that this Republic is far behind other nations of its own rank in this important reform. Moreover, our people have remained so long in the grasp of a skillful and persistent plutocracy that they are even now prey to the delusion that the suggestion that they should own and operate their own most important properties is only a specious plea of "socialists."

In Europe the idea of government ownership of the telegraphs and even the railways has been made familiar by many years of successful experience. England operates its postoffice, not only in respect of the carriage of letters, but also of the transmission of parcels and telegrams. We permit our own postoffice to carry the mails, but at the beck and call of three or four express companies (one of which is represented in the Senate by a Republican leader of that body) we delegate the important parcels post to these private corporations and tamely submit to their exactions. The telegraph business is already a private monopoly extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to Mexico. Its tariffs are such as are needed to pay dividends upon a hundred millions of largely watered stock. Yet we have made little or no progress toward taking over this enormous business for our own profit and convenience, though it is of quite as confidential a character and just as properly a governmental function as the carriage of sealed letters.

Even in England, where the plutocracy is the paramount power of the land, a suggestion to take the telegraphs out of the postoffice department and place them under private control would not be entertained for a moment.

For that matter, what would be said, even in the United States, if it were suggested that the public water works, the postoffice, the public streets and bridges, parks, libraries, schools, armies and navies were given into the hands of private corporations? Who would dare suggest that we turn over the army to an Elkins-Widener syndicate, or the navy

to a Gould corporation, or the public courts to the Standard Oil trust, or the highways and schools to Mark Hanna? Yet such retrogressive movement in the direction of private ownership would not be in the least degree more absurd than are the arguments made in favor of arresting the movement towards public ownership of other equally obvious public utilities.

Even to this day, we are sometimes told that the government ownership and control of public utilities would speedily result in increased political corruption. A sufficient answer to this is the successful ownership and operation by the government of its own postoffice, one of the most important and, even under the corrupt McKinley administration, the best conducted branches of the government. If the people can own and operate their own postoffice without undue scandal, why not also their telegraphs and their parcels express? The answer is so convincing on its face that it need scarcely be dwelt upon.

And those who advance even these feeble arguments forget, or assume to forget, for the moment, the unspeakable scandal which has attended the construction and operation of the railroads and telegraphs in the United States. Which of these great corporations is without offense in this regard? Which of them has been built without the attending taint of Wall Street jobbery, of watered stock, of bribed Legislators and Congressmen? Has it not been said, and with perfect truth, that the financial conduct of our railroads, attended as it was by so many wrecks of private fortunes, so many blasted reputations, became in time a stench in the nostrils even of the money world? While there has been some improvement in recent years as the owners of these properties became rich enough to afford to be honest, it is still true that European financiers regard them askance, and on the foreign bourses "American railroads" were for many years a synonym for jobbery and corruption. What branch of the public administration has been attended by such scandals as these?

No intelligent American can be ignorant of the existence at Washington and in the respective State capitals of the all-powerful lobby which watches every statute directly or indirectly affecting the great corporate interests. This evil had its beginning from the very moment when public utilities began to be turned over to private ownership. From the very start projectors of railroads and telegraphs and transportation companies of all kinds have been alert for the "protection" of their interests, and with increasing years have become more and more unscrupulous.

pulous as to the methods employed. How many Senators in Congress hold secret briefs from these great corporations? How many are even openly and without shame employed by them? How many more are wholly free from their corporate influence? One needs but to follow the course of any legislation bearing ever so remotely upon these interests to find an answer to these questions at once shameful and alarming.

At the present moment it is not easy to fix the limits to which this evil may yet attain. It has been seen at the recent conferences and commissions held to investigate that subject, how powerful is the influence of the common carrier companies co-operating with that of the great industrial combinations, or trusts, to fix the price of the necessities of life for one part of the country or another, and to enrich one individual or corporation at the expense of his or its competitors. In the case of the Standard Oil Company it has even been shown that discriminative rates on the railroads have had the effect of destroying competition in large sections of the country, if not altogether.

This comparatively new phase of the evil of private ownership in public utilities is the growth of less than a quarter century. Much of it has developed even within the past five years. At this very moment it is going forward at a rate truly appalling to the patriotic citizen. The thoughtful American may well ask whither it all tends and how soon will come the day when the people, having surrendered the control of their richest interests to private ownership, will find themselves bereft of all control over every essential of life, and be forced to pay for the food they eat and the clothes they wear and the coffins they are buried in such prices and upon such terms as these private owners may dictate. There is an old saying that "if you give power to a man, he will use it." The temptation to all human nature is irresistible. What has been said is not so much an indictment of the individuals who have profited under this regime of private ownership as of the system itself. They have perhaps done only what others would have done with similar opportunities and temptations. It is the system itself which is wrong, and which must speedily be destroyed or there will be an end to liberty in the United States of America.

The people might well take alarm at the present political attitude of these beneficiaries of private ownership. Against every proposed reform they are the most ardent and persistent opponents. It is they who speak the loudest and spend money most freely for the defeat of any legislation

tending to relax their grip upon the public property, and naturally. To them the restoration to the people of the public monopolies and utilities means the loss of opportunity further to exploit the people.

The other side of the case ought to be equally clear, whatever in this regard means loss to the pampered children of privilege means a gain to the people—gain, not only in money and goods, but more important still, in liberty, self-government, and all that which the Democracy holds dear.

This is one of many reasons why the Democracy at the beginning of the new century, in the midst of the present campaign, finds itself arrayed against the whole plutocratic and monopolistic class; why it enters the battle expecting, hoping and glad to meet these combined and well organized forces and fight them, if need be, to the death. They bring to the struggle unlimited money, perfect organization, the experience of years of success at exploitation of the people, and no inconvenient scruples as to the methods to be employed. Against these the Democracy will bring only that many-handed giant whose strength has never failed at crises—the people.

The case of the Union Traction Company, of Chicago, will serve well to illustrate the manner in which special privileges in natural monopolies is turned to private account. This concern is composed of Eastern and Chicago capitalists, and in the main is the same that has obtained control of the surface traction, electric light and gas companies in many important cities, and is understood to be reaching out for still more. Its originators were Philadelphians of high standing in the Republican party. They are generally known as the Elkins-Widener Syndicate.

The Union Traction Company, of Chicago, was organized in May, 1899, as a result of negotiations with Mr. Charles T. Yerkes, who was then known as the "street car magnate" of Chicago. The Traction Company bought Mr. Yerkes' holdings of stock in the North and West Chicago Railroad Companies for a price said to be \$9,600,000. These holdings amounted to 20,000 shares in the North Side Company and 32,000 shares in the West Side Company, out of a total of 79,200, and 138,900 shares respectively. They did not, it will be observed, amount to anything like a majority. However, contracts were made by agreement with other large holders of the stock which enabled the Traction Company to effect leases upon the two properties on the very advantageous terms which Mr. Yerkes already enjoyed, the terms being in each in-

stance 999 years. The Traction Company was capitalized at \$32,000,000, of which \$12,000,000 is 5 per cent. cumulative preferred stock and \$20,000,000 common. All of this common, it will be seen, was water and most of it was put into the pockets of the promoters as their profits.

Mr. Yerkes, it is understood, took back \$1,000,000 of the preferred stock as part of the purchase price. Substantially all the remainder of the purchase price was realized by the sale of the preferred stock to private subscribers at par, one-half share of common stock being given with each share of the preferred as an inducement to buy. Thus it will be seen that after paying Mr. Yerkes his purchase money, the syndicate realized enough money from the sale of its preferred stock and the accompanying bribe of common stock to leave itself in possession of \$14,000,000 of the common stock, which in effect represents their net profits upon the transaction and wholly depends for its value upon the growth of the city of Chicago and the development of the surface traffic. Their cash investment is thus practically nothing at all.

But a brief view of Mr. Yerkes' experience will show with what certainty these financiers are able to count upon the future development of the city as a factor of their own enrichment. Mr. Yerkes, himself, is a Philadelphian of considerable political experience, who came to Chicago some sixteen years ago with a cash capital then amounting, it is said, to \$60,000. His chief asset, however, was the Elkins-Widener idea of monopoly and special privilege. Combining these two with his Philadelphia credit, he was able to purchase the then existing North Chicago Street Railroad Company and West Chicago Street Railroad Company. His plan of operation was similar to that already described, but on a smaller scale. Thus he took from the owners of the North Chicago Street Railroad Company \$250,100 of the \$500,000 outstanding capital stock, a bare majority. To the original owners he executed guaranties under the form of 999 year leases, securing to them returns upon their investment which at the time seemed extravagant (they amounted to more than 30 per cent. per annum on their holdings), but which subsequent developments have shown to have been exceedingly moderate, indeed. The same plan was followed with the West Side Company.

Mr. Yerkes then proceeded to introduce the cable system upon his newly acquired properties. He created a Construction Company of which he was himself the chief, and derived from the building of the cable system a profit so handsome that he was soon virtually the owner

of the properties himself. He then counted with prophetic certainty upon the growth of Chicago to make good the large increments of common and preferred stock which he had issued ostensibly to cover the expense of the improvements.

Nor is this all. Chicago during these sixteen years has extended its boundaries until they are now almost coincident with those of Cook County. Throughout the new territory trolley and horse car lines have been extended to keep apace with the increase of population or sometimes even to assist in it. Who has been the master spirit in this traction development? No other than Mr. Yerkes. Seeing the future of the city and realizing the effectiveness of the methods he had already practiced, he steadily extended his lines until all, or practically all, the new territory was made tributary to his intramural system. These new lines cost money. But that proposition offered no difficulties to Mr. Yerkes, for his city lines were realizing such profits that he was able, by skillful book-keeping, to transfer from their balances sufficient sums from time to time to meet this new expense.

In other words, these suburban lines, eight in number, with some 250 miles of track, were paid for out of the profits of the North and West Chicago lines, which in addition, as it were, paid for themselves in the meantime. The eight suburban lines were early in the present year transferred to the Elkins-Widener syndicate under the name of the Chicago Consolidated Traction Company, with a capitalization of \$15,000,000. All of this was clear profit realized out of special privilege in Chicago streets.

It must be apparent to the dullest eye that these egregious profits, realized for the benefit of a single individual, might just as easily and much more equitably have been made for the benefit of the entire community which contributed them. It is not designed here to make any attack upon Mr. Yerkes, though his course in Chicago, especially in relation to the Chicago City Council and the Illinois State Legislature in procuring franchises upon which his railroad properties are chiefly based, might seem to warrant almost any of the numerous accusations that have been made against him. The point is simply this, that the chief asset of these great properties is the public franchise enjoyed in the public streets by their private owners. The actual amount of private capital invested, as has been seen, is comparatively trifling. The enormous sum total of profits is simply an aggregate of nickels contributed by the people to

whom the streets belong. The people, in order to enjoy the free use of their own highways, have been made the unwilling instruments for the enrichment of private individuals, many of whom do not even reside in the city. For, directly Mr. Yerkes had realized upon the sale of his traction lines to the Traction Company, he removed his residence from Chicago to New York.

This franchise, this use of the highways which private individuals have been able to turn to such enormous profit, belongs to the people and the system is manifestly wrong which perverts that profit into private pockets. Nor is this less true because a quantity of the stocks and bonds negotiated in these transactions have found their way into the possession of numerous private individuals entirely "innocent" of the original bargain and sale. That is only an incident to the system. These minor interests are often flaunted in the face of the public as "vested rights" which are sacred and must not be disturbed by the unholy hand of the "reformer." But the inadequacy of such an argument should be apparent on its face.

So much for the economic side. Much more might be written upon the political phase which these aggregations of capital in the guise of "high finance" present to even the most casual view. It is not to be supposed that Mr. Yerkes, for example, was able to consummate these operations involving public rights of so important a character without intimate relations with the civic and State authorities. Indeed, as has already been intimated, his course in this respect has constituted a scandal which the public press has given to all the world. Not to dwell upon his own private responsibility in this matter (for he may or may not have done more than another man with similar opportunities and similar temptations would have done) it need scarcely be pointed out that here is a grave political danger affecting the rights of all the people. If the people own the streets and their cities—and they do—they cannot be deprived of this property save through the corrupt connivance of their representatives and the captains of the "new finance." As between these two the temptation may be said to be mutual. At any rate, experience has shown that wherever a valuable public right has thus been left to the disposal of the people's representatives, the people have not profited, though their representatives have, by this combination of circumstances.

Not to dwell further upon the financial loss thus sustained by the people, there is a deterioration of morals, a lowering of the political tone

which reaches through all the ramifications of government. If an alderman is able to make a fortune out of the sale of public franchises belonging to his constituents, it is apparent that he will spend, not only effort, but money to secure his office, and in this expenditure, not only himself, but the whole voting body is contaminated, and, in a word, the system of representative government is overthrown.

It is well enough to trace this evil to its source. We commonly hear less about the bribers than about the officials bribed. But if there were no rich capitalists to buy public franchises, to secure monopoly in the use of public streets, certainly there would be no public officials to sell their votes and betray the rights of the people. And if the people's representatives had nothing to sell and were made to serve their constituents merely for honor or for the small salaries appertaining to their offices, corrupt men would not aspire to those offices, and there would be a chance of the people being represented in their legislative body by citizens of high character. As it is, so intimately is the idea of bribery associated with municipal office, especially in the large cities, that men of high character are often unwilling to accept those places.

It is not so in those cities where the public enjoys the use of their own property in the public streets. Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and Glasgow in Great Britain are a few of the cities that might be mentioned where these public utilities have been reserved to the people. In those cities the municipal governing bodies are composed of the leading citizens and the class of legislation is so far ahead of our own as to make any loyal American blush at the comparison. There are cities in the United States where the gas and electric light plants are owned by the people and are turned to the public account with handsome profit to the treasury.

The time has gone by for capital to dismiss these schemes of municipal ownership of public utilities with contempt. The people are no longer to be scared by a name. We are told that public ownership would mean political corruption, but what political corruption would occur more odious than that which has developed under the existing system? That is a question which the Democracy propounds as coming from the heart of the people whose rights have been outraged under the existing system and who have ceased long since to heed the contemptuous or angry warnings of men in high places against the danger of taking the responsibility of their own affairs upon their own shoulders.

It is the fashion in certain quarters to classify all the proponents of municipal ownership as cranks and theorists. Against such assertions it is only necessary to name a few of those who have written or spoken for this great principle. As long ago as 1814 Henry Clay repeatedly agitated the national ownership of the telegraph. He foresaw and eloquently warned the people against the dangers of a telegraph monopoly in private hands. Ever since his day Congress has repeatedly been approached with appeals and petitions for the absorption of the telegraphs by the postoffice department. Charles Sumner, Hannibal Hamlin, Senators Edmunds, Dawes, Chandler, and N. P. Hill, Generals Grant, and Butler, Postmasters-General Johnson, Randall, Maynard, Howe, Creswell, and Wanamaker; Prof. Morse, himself, the inventor of the telegraph; Cyrus W. Field, founder of the Atlantic cable and a director in the Western Union Company; James Gordon Bennett, the Rev. Lyman Abbott, Prof. Ely, B. O. Fowler, Henry Demerest Lloyd, Terrence V. Powderly, Samuel Gompers, Marion Butler—these are only a few of a veritable host of men eminent in every high walk of life who have championed the rights of the people in this regard. James Russell Lowell, the late Bishop Phillips Brooks, and Francis A. Walker have expressed their sympathy with the movement. Numerous legislatures, city councils, boards of trade, chambers of commerce and labor organizations, representing millions of private citizens of less renown, but no less honesty, have added their voices to the appeal. Such newspapers as the New York Herald, Boston Globe, Philadelphia Times, Albany Express, Omaha Bee, Denver Republican, and San Francisco Post, representing every phase of political opinion, have agitated the measure. Two political parties have definitely demanded the government telegraph, and more than two millions of men by vote and petition have asked for it. Of the nineteen committees of the House and Senate which have reported on the question, seventeen have been in favor of and two against it. Here are some expressions of opinion from these and other eminent men upon the question of national telegraphs and the kindred question of municipal ownership of street railways:

Dr. Lyman Abbott says: "I am heartily in favor of municipal ownership of street railways; the experience of Manchester and Glasgow abroad has shown what may be done. But we have an illustration nearer home, in some respects more convincing. The Brooklyn bridge has furnished better conveniences for the traveler than those furnished by the

elevated system of railways or by the trolley cars on either side of the river, besides reducing fares, which no money-making corporation could be expected to do."

Dr. Felix Adler: "I am strongly in favor of municipal ownership and my reasons are two. First, the advantage to the general public in the shape of cheaper fare and better service; second, the advantage to be expected to accrue to the employes and indirectly to the wage-earning class in general by a tendency to advance wages and improve the condition of labor."

Prof. Richard T. Ely: "Municipal ownership of the street railways will be the greatest contribution to municipal reform yet effected in the United States."

Wm. Dean Howells: "I am heartily in favor of municipal ownership of street railways because it will cheapen the fares to those who most need cheap fare and will best serve all the interests of the public."

This list might easily be prolonged indefinitely, but one expression is so like the other that it would seem like mere iteration. Indeed it is not too much to say that the men who have given thought to this important question are numerous and belong to the most intelligent and patriotic portion of our citizenship, and that in all cases where they have investigated and spoken without prejudice their opinions are unanimously in favor of municipal ownership. Of course all that is true of municipal ownership of street railways applies with equal force to the municipal ownership of gas and electric lighting works, of water works, and indeed to any of the natural monopolies, including the express companies and telegraphs, which under private ownership have been turned to the enrichment of the individual at the expense of the public.

CHAPTER XI.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

William Jennings Bryan is of a Virginia family, of Irish extraction. His father, Cyrus Lilard Bryan, was born in 1822 near Sperryville, in a portion of Culpeper County which is now Rapahannock County. Here his ancestors had lived for more than one hundred years. He removed early in life to Salem, Illinois, where his distinguished son was born. The Jennings family to which Mr. Bryan's mother belonged lived for many years in Kentucky, but moved to Illinois early in this century.

Mr. Bryan is forty years old. He was born March 19, 1860, on his father's farm, a tract of 500 acres, near Salem. Here he spent the first ten years of his life. At ten he entered the public school of Salem, where he remained in attendance for five years, doing his work faithfully, but without distinguishing himself especially for scholarship. His special interest was in literary work and the debating society, where he shone seemingly without effort.

During this period of his life Mr. Bryan entertained for a time a boyish ambition to be a preacher, but this he soon gave over, and in its place formed a determination to become a lawyer "like father." This purpose, which was never abandoned, shaped all his subsequent education.

In 1872 Mr. Bryan's father made the campaign for representative in Congress from his district on the Democratic ticket. This was the occasion of the young man's first political awakening. From that time he cherished the thought of entering public life as soon as he should have won reputation and a competency at the bar. As it befell an unexpected opportunity came to him twelve years later, in 1890, when at the age of thirty he made his first campaign for Congress.

Mr. Bryan joined the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at the age of fourteen. Later he affiliated with the First Presbyterian Church of Jacksonville, Illinois, and upon his removal to Nebraska with the First Presbyterian Church of Lincoln, to which he and his family now belong. His religious views belong of course to his private life, but the following extract from a eulogy which he delivered in Congress upon the memory of a deceased colleague may appropriately be set down here both as re-

vealing his views on immortality and as an example of his mature English style:

"I shall not believe that even now his light is extinguished. If the Father deigns to touch with divine power the cold and pulseless heart of the buried acorn and make it burst forth from its prison walls, will He leave neglected in the earth the soul of man which was made in the image of His Creator? If he stoops to give to the rosebush, whose withered blossoms float upon the breeze the sweet assurance of another springtime, will He withhold the words of hope from the sons of men when the frosts of winter come? If Matter, mute and inanimate, though changed by the forces of Nature to a multitude of forms, can never die, will the imperial Spirit of man suffer annihilation after it has paid a brief visit, like a royal guest, to this tenement of clay?

"Rather let us believe that He, who in His apparent prodigality wastes not the rain-drop, the blade of grass or the evening's sighing zephyr, but makes them all to carry out His eternal plans, has given immortality to the mortal and gathered to Himself the generous spirit of our friend."

The eight years from fifteen to twenty-three were an important period in the young man's life. They were spent in school and college—first at Whipple Academy, the preparatory department of Illinois College, Jacksonville, and then in the college itself. His vacations he spent at home on the farm in the healthy pursuits of a vigorous youth, but for these eight years he led the life of a student. Six of them were spent in Jacksonville in the home of Dr. Hiram K. Jones, a relative. The influence of this life had its influence upon the growing boy. Dr. Jones is a man of strong character, scholarly tastes and high ideals. During the existence of the Concord School he was a lecturer there upon Platonic Philosophy. His wife, also, was a woman of rare attainments and as the pair had no children, they gave to young Bryan a home in the full extent of the word.

Bryan's parents wished him to take a classical course. He grumbled somewhat at his Latin and Greek, though he has since recognized the wisdom of his parents' choice. Latin was his favorite, but he had a strong preference for mathematics, especially for geometry, and he still believes that the mental discipline acquired in the study of this science has been useful to him in argument. He was also an earnest student of the "dismal science"—political economy. An incident which

perhaps illustrates the nature of his early training sufficiently is related by Mr. Bryan himself. During his first year in the Illinois College as holidays drew near, he wrote to his father in Salem that his trousers were becoming too short and he needed money for a new pair. His father replied that as it was so near vacation he need not make any purchase until he came home, and added: "My son, you may as well learn now that people will measure you by the length of your head rather than by the length of your trousers."

College athletics had not at that time reached the prominent place in academic education which they now occupy, but the beginning had been made and Mr. Bryan was found among the front of his colleagues in this as in other pursuits. He was not an adept at base ball or foot ball, but he was very fond of foot racing and of jumping. Three years after his graduation, on Osage Orange Day, he won a medal for the broad jump in a contest open to students and alumni. The medal records 12 feet and 4 inches, a very respectable distance even in the light of later performances.

A prize contest always roused Bryan's ambition. During his first year at the academy he declaimed Patrick Henry's masterpiece, but failed to win a prize. Nothing daunted, the second year found him again entered with the "Palmetto and the Pine" as his subject. This time he ranked third. The next year, as a freshman, he tried for a prize in Latin prose and won half the second prize. In his sophomore year he entered another contest with an essay on the subject "Labor" and won first prize. An oration upon "Individual Powers" gave him the first prize in his junior year. This entitled him to represent Illinois College in the inter-collegiate oratorical contest at Galesburg in the fall of 1880. His oration was upon "Justice." It was awarded the second prize of \$50. Gen. John C. Black was one of the judges of this contest and marked Mr. Bryan 100 in the art of delivery.

In the summer of 1880 Mr. Bryan attended his first political meeting. It was not a success. He was billed to make a Democratic speech at a farmers' picnic near Salem, but upon reaching the grove he found an audience of four, namely, the owner of the grove, one man in control of a wheel of fortune, and two of a lemonade stand. After waiting for an hour for an audience, the meeting adjourned and Mr. Bryan went home. Later in the fall, however, he made four speeches for Hancock and English, the first of them in the court house at Salem.

The graduating exercises of Illinois College occurred in June, 1881. Mr. Bryan was chosen to deliver the class oration and valedictory address. Both efforts reveal a high order of merit for a man of his years.

In the fall of 1881 Mr. Bryan entered the Union College of Law at Chicago. Out of school hours his time was spent in the office of ex-Senator Lyman Trumbull, who had been a warm political friend of Mr. Bryan's father. In Mr. Trumbull's home the young man had a home and cherished a friendship which has been preserved by himself and the widow of the great Illinois Democrat to this day.

It was during his residence in Chicago that Mr. Bryan met the young woman who was to become his wife. She was Mary Baird Bryan, only child of John and Lovina Baird of Perry, Illinois, about one year younger than Mr. Bryan. Mrs. Bryan attended Monticello Seminary at Godfrey, Illinois, for one year and the Presbyterian Academy at Jacksonville, Illinois, for two years, graduating from the latter institution with first honors in June, 1881. She has continued her studies since graduation with special attention to the German language and literature, though her chief occupation has been to follow her husband in his legal and political career. After her marriage she read law with Mr. Bryan as instructor, following the course of the Union College of Law at Chicago, and was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Nebraska in November, 1888. This course of study she took up, not with a view to entering practice, but in order to put herself in closer touch with her husband, to whom she has been a real helpmeet in the real sense of the word. Mrs. Bryan acknowledges her indebtedness to him as he does to her for constant and valuable assistance, but she is devoted to her home and to her children.

Mr. Bryan began the practice of his profession in Jacksonville, Illinois, on July 4, 1883, seventeen years to a day previous to his nomination at Kansas City. He took desk room in the office of one of the leading firms of that city, but for the first year fared but badly in the struggle for a practice. On the 1st of January following, however, he began to entertain the idea of making Jacksonville his permanent home. It was in Jacksonville that he married and lived for the first three years of his conjugal life. In the summer of 1887 legal business called him to Kansas and Iowa and he spent a Sunday with a classmate in Lincoln, Nebraska. He was greatly impressed with the beauty and enterprise of the Western capital and at once determined to make this

city his home. The removal occurred in October of that year. Mr. Bryan formed a legal partnership with Mr. A. R. Talbot. The home which he established in the following winter has ever since been his family home.

Mr. Bryan became actively connected with the Democratic organization in Nebraska almost immediately after coming to the State. His first political speech was made at Seward in the spring of 1888. Soon afterwards he went as a delegate to the State convention where he formed the acquaintance of the leading Democrats of the State and made a series of speeches. His first experience in active politics in Nebraska was a canvass in the First Congressional District in behalf of the Hon. J. Sterling Morton. When the campaign of 1890 opened there seemed small hope of carrying the district, and there was little rivalry for the nomination. Mr. Bryan was nominated without opposition and at once began a vigorous campaign. He issued an invitation to joint debate to his opponent, the Hon. W. J. Connell of Omaha, who then represented the district. These debates excited attention throughout the State and became the occasion for the deliverance of some of Mr. Bryan's best oratorical efforts. A meeting in Lincoln seems in the light of subsequent events to have been a miniature of the Chicago convention at which Mr. Bryan was nominated for the Presidency.

When the returns were in it was found that Mr. Bryan had been elected by a plurality of 6,713. Desiring to give his entire time to his work as a representative in Congress, he so arranged his affairs as to retire from practice, though retaining a nominal connection with his legal firm.

This Congress, it will be remembered, opened with an important caucus for the speakership. Mr. Bryan's support was cast on the side of Mr. William M. Springer, in whose district Mr. Bryan had lived at Jacksonville. But in the House he voted for Mr. Crisp, the caucus nominee. Mr. Springer was made chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, largely through Mr. Bryan's influence. The young Representative's first speech of consequence was on the subject of the tariff, delivered in March, 1892. It is needless to remark to Democrats, even at this day, that this was a notable utterance from every point of view. More than 100,000 copies were circulated throughout the country by members of Congress.

Upon his return to Nebraska Mr. Bryan was re-elected in a new dis-

trict (the State having been reapportioned in 1891). His opponent was Judge A. W. Field of Lincoln. The Democratic committee in this campaign invited the Republicans to join in arranging a series of debates, and this invitation was accepted. A campaign of even greater bitterness than that of 1890 ensued. Mr. McKinley, Senator Foraker and other Republicans of national reputation were called to Nebraska to aid the Republican nominee. Mr. Bryan participated in all the debates with all these notables, and in addition made a thorough canvass of the district. The victory was claimed by both sides until the Friday following the election, when the result as determined by official count was announced in Mr. Bryan's favor by the narrow plurality of 140. In the Fifty-third Congress Mr. Bryan was reappointed upon the important Committee of Ways and Means. He had the honor to assist in the preparation of the Wilson bill. He was a member of the sub-committee with Representatives McMillin and Montgomery which draughted the income tax portion of the bill. In the spring of 1893 Mr. Bryan obtained through the State Department a report from the nations in Europe which collected income tax, and the result of this research were embodied in the Congressional Record during the debate. They formed an exceedingly important contribution to the literature of that subject. He was successful also in having incorporated in the Wilson bill a provision borrowed from the Prussian law whereby citizens who have taxable incomes make their own returns and those whose incomes are within the limit of exemption are relieved. Mr. Bryan closed the debate on the income tax in reply to Mr. Bourke Cockran of New York.

Mr. Bryan's principal work, however, in this session of Congress was on behalf of monetary reform. He spoke on August 16, 1893, in opposition to the unconditional repeal of the Sherman law, and this speech was one of the noteworthy contributions to the literature of that important subject. Although this effort was born of the occasion and in a measure spontaneous, it is not too much to say that it was the mature result of many years' study of the subject.

It was during this session of Congress also that Mr. Bryan made the powerful though fruitless effort to secure the passage of the following bills:

Be it enacted, etc.: That Section 800 of the Revised Statutes of the United States of 1878 be amended by adding thereto the words: "In civil cases the verdict of three-fourths of the jurors constituting the

jury shall stand as the verdict of the jury, and such a verdict shall have the same force and effect as a unanimous verdict."

The desire for this reform in the system of civil judicature was one which Mr. Bryan had long entertained.

In the spring of 1894 Mr. Bryan announced that he would not be a candidate for re-election to Congress. Later he decided to stand as a candidate to the United States Senate. He was nominated for that high office by the unanimous vote of the Democratic State convention. The Republicans made no nomination, but as it seemed certain that Mr. Thurston, the eminent lawyer and counsel for the Central Pacific Railroad, would be a candidate, Mr. Bryan issued a challenge to him for a series of debates. The contest which ensued was one of the most noteworthy incidents in Nebraska politics. Mr. Thurston declined the formal invitation, but consented to an arrangement for two meetings with his opponent. These were the largest political gatherings ever held in Nebraska, and were as gratifying to the friends of Mr. Bryan as his previous debates had led them to expect. At the election Nebraska shared in the general "landslide," and upon this tide Mr. Thurston was elected.

Thereupon Mr. Bryan addressed his supporters in terms as follows, which are worthy of reproduction here:

"The Legislature is Republican and a Republican Senator will now be elected to represent Nebraska. * * * I appreciate more than words can express the good will and loyal support of the friends to whom I am indebted for the political honors which I have received. I am especially grateful to those who bear without humiliation the name of the common people, for they have been my friends when others have deserted me. * * * I have been a hired man for four years and now that the campaign is closed I may be pardoned for saying that as a public servant I have performed my duty to the best of my ability and am not ashamed of the record made. I step from private life into national politics at the bidding of my countrymen; at their bidding I again take my place in the ranks and resume without sorrow the work from which they called me. It is the glory of our institutions that public officials exercise authority by the consent of the governed rather than by divine or hereditary right. Paraphrasing the language of Job, each public servant can say of departing honors: 'The people gave and the people have taken away, blessed be the name of the people.'"

In this campaign Mr. Bryan received the votes of all the Democrats and nearly half of the Populist members of the Legislature, who represented a constituency then amounting to a considerable fraction of the suffrage of the State, which has not decreased with the increase of years. In Nebraska the Democratic party has been for many years in the minority. But as there are several points of agreement between it and the Populist party, Mr. Bryan has always advocated co-operation between the two.

In the spring of 1893 Mr. Bryan received the support of a majority of the Democratic members of the Legislature, but when it became evident that no Democrat could be elected, he cheerfully assisted in the election of Mr. Allen, a Populist, who now occupies that seat. Again in 1894 in the Democratic State convention Mr. Bryan aided in securing the nomination of a portion of the Populist ticket, including Mr. Holcomb, Populist candidate for Governor. The cordial relations which existed between the Democrats and the Populists of Nebraska were a potent influence in securing Mr. Bryan's nomination in 1896 at Chicago.

Mr. Bryan made his entrée upon newspaper work September 1, 1894, when he became chief of the editorial staff of the Omaha "World-Herald." In this position he was able to reach daily a much larger number of people than could possibly be addressed from any platform. After the adjournment of Congress, however, on his way home from Washington Mr. Bryan lectured at Cincinnati, Nashville, Little Rock and at several points in Missouri, arriving in Lincoln March 19, 1895, his thirty-fifth birthday. This occasion was made notable by a reception accorded to him by the Jefferson Club of Lincoln at which Mr. Bryan made his famous address upon the perennial subject, "Thomas Jefferson Still Lives." A portion of this address may appropriately be quoted here:

"Let us then with the courage of Andrew Jackson apply to present conditions the principles taught by Thomas Jefferson—Thomas Jefferson, the greatest constructed statesman whom the world has ever known; the grandest warrior who ever battled for human liberty. He quarried from the mountains of eternal truth the four pillars, upon whose strength all popular government must rest. In the Declaration of American Independence he proclaimed the principles with which there is, without which there cannot be, 'a government of the people, by the people and for the people.' When he declared that 'All men are

created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,' he declared all that lies between the Alpha and Omega of Democracy."

Mr. Bryan intended to resume the practice of law at this period of his career, but the contest for supremacy in the Democratic party had begun in earnest and the calls upon his eloquence were so numerous and so urgent that it seemed best to him to devote his time to lecturing and to the public discussion of questions which clamored for an answer. Concerning this period of his career Mr. Bryan's political enemies have not scrupled to insinuate that he was in the pay of the silver league. A sufficient reply to these insinuations is furnished by Mrs. Bryan herself, who says:

"His editorial salary formed the basis of his income. When lecturing before Chautauquas and similar societies he was paid as other lecturers. At meetings where no admission was charged he sometimes received compensation and at other times received nothing. Many of the free speeches were made en route to lecture engagements, and his compensation ranged from traveling expenses to \$100. Only upon two or three of these occasions did he receive more than this. Never at any time was he under the direction of or in the pay of any silver league or association of persons pecuniarily interested in silver. During the interim between the adjournment of Congress and the Chicago convention he spoke in all the States at the West and South and became acquainted with those most prominently connected with the silver cause."

This with some proper emendations is a sufficient record of Mr. Bryan's course since the election in November, 1896. When the call to arms came for the conflict with Spain he was one of the first to respond. Though unaccustomed to the military career, he raised a regiment and was appointed its colonel. His military record is part of the history of this period. It is without blemish, beyond reproach, entitled even to the high praise which comes to a military commander who maintains the dignity of his command in time of peace.

There is no desire at this time or in this place to dwell upon Mr. Bryan's private life. Any biography of the man, however, would be incomplete without reference to his relations to the home which he has built in the Nebraskan capital. It is perhaps enough to say that every

moment which can be snatched from a busy public career is spent in the intimate and confidential association with his wife and children. Of the latter there are three, two girls and a boy. Mr. Bryan possesses the happy faculty of all great men which enables him to so nicely adjust the balance of his time that he can expend upon his public duties from sixteen to eighteen hours of the twenty-four and yet live in intimate association with the members of his family. He has an unbounded capacity for work. The visits at his Nebraska home number scarcely less than one hundred daily. His mail is enormous. Yet by the perfect adjustment of his relations he finds himself able to see every American citizen who comes to him with a competent errand and to answer every letter that reaches him in the mail. At all times and in all relations he is the ideal American citizen.

CHAPTER XII.

ADLAI EWING STEVENSON

The candidate for Vice-President has been a familiar figure in public life for more than forty years—always as a Democrat. Mr. Stevenson was born in Christian County, October 23rd, 1835. Like Mr. Bryan, he spent his youth on a farm. His father was a Kentucky planter of an old North Carolina family descended from some of the earliest Scotch-Irish settlers in that Commonwealth.

The son attended the Kentucky common schools until his seventeenth year, when the family removed to Bloomington, Illinois, which has been Mr. Stevenson's home almost continuously ever since. The young man attended Illinois Wesleyan University and afterward Center College at Danville, Kentucky, where he finished his academic career. He then returned to Bloomington, where he was admitted to the bar in May, 1857. He began the practice of his profession at Metamora, Woodford County, Illinois, and soon attracted attention throughout the circuit, which includes McLean County, of which Bloomington is the seat.

Young Stevenson entered politics almost before he attained to his majority. The so-called Know-nothing movement was in progress at this time, and the young man made many speeches against that now obsolete proscriptive policy. This action endeared him to many settlers who had lately come into the country from Germany and Ireland and added much to his hold upon the popular affections. In 1860 at the age of twenty-five he was appointed Master in Chancery. This was his first public office, and he held it for four years. In 1864, being at the time a Democratic elector on the McClellan ticket, he was elected prosecuting attorney for the Twenty-third Judicial District. This office he held for four years. It was at this time in January, 1868, that Mr. Stevenson formed a law partnership at Bloomington with his cousin James S. Ewing. The firm of Stevenson & Ewing soon became one of the most prominent in the community, and it is continued until the present day in the front rank of the McLean County bar.

Mr. Stevenson was one of the earliest advocates of reform in the currency. On that issue he was nominated for Congress in 1874. The

district had been considered reliably Republican by a majority of about 3,000, but Mr. Stevenson was able to draw many Independents to his support and after an exciting canvass was elected by a majority of 1,232 votes. His opponent, the late General John C. McNulta, was one of the leading Republicans and most influential citizens in the State. In the Forty-fourth Congress Mr. Stevenson served on the Committee of the District of Columbia and the Territories.

Mr. Stevenson was renominated for Congress in 1876 by acclamation. This was a Presidential year, in which, it will be remembered, party lines were drawn with unusual sharpness. President Hayes carried the district by nearly 3,000 majority. Mr. Stevenson was not able to overcome this enormous lead, but he was defeated by only 250 votes. At the end of his term he resumed his law practice, appearing in public only for a short time in 1877, as a member of the Board of Visitors to West Point.

In 1878 Mr. Stevenson was again nominated for Congress on the National Greenback Labor ticket. The Democrats of the Bloomington district endorsed his nomination, and he carried every county in the district, receiving 13,870 votes against 12,058 for the Republican incumbent, T. F. Tipton. Mr. Stevenson carried his own county, which as has been said, gave Hayes nearly 3,000 and Garfield more than 2,000 plurality.

In the Forty-sixth Congress Mr. Stevenson served as chairman of the Committee on Mines and Mining. He was renominated in 1880, another Presidential year, and again suffered defeat, though by the small margin of 200 votes. At the end of his term he went back to his practice of the law in Bloomington until 1882, when he was again nominated for Congress and again defeated by 350 votes. This was his last attempt for Congressional honors.

Mr. Stevenson was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention at Chicago in 1884 that nominated Grover Cleveland for President. Mr. Cleveland appointed him First Assistant Postmaster General. In this office he had jurisdiction over the appointment of more than 44,000 fourth-class postmasters. He announced at the outset of his career that, other things being equal, when reputable and efficient Democratic applicants presented themselves for these offices, he should consider it his duty to appoint them, displacing the Republican incumbents. This policy he maintained to the end, not without occasioning some bitter-

ness, especially among the Republicans, but entirely without scandal and with great increase of reputation throughout the country for courage and integrity.

Cleveland nominated Mr. Stevenson to be a judge of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, but the Republican Senate took revenge upon the appointee for his removal of so many Republican post-masters by refusing to confirm him.

The four years of President Harrison's term Mr. Stevenson spent at Bloomington in the practice of the law. In 1892 the Democrats chose him as a delegate-at-large from Illinois to the National Democratic Convention in Chicago. He was unanimously elected chairman of the Illinois delegation and held that important place until his own name was mentioned in the contest for Vice-President, when he withdrew from further share in the proceedings. His nomination for the Vice-Presidency and his conduct during the four years which he held that high office are still matters of recent history. Political friends and enemies agree that he was the ideal presiding officer. Dignified, urbane, unfalteringly non-partisan in his rulings, he quickly gained and infallibly held to the end the respect and esteem of all leaders. His personal appearance conduced greatly to such a success. He is six feet in height, of fine personal bearing and uniformly courteous to all.

Since March, 1897, when his term as Vice-President expired, Mr. Stevenson has continued to practice his profession at Bloomington, taking part in nearly all the legal contests in his district. He has, however, been in constant demand as a political speaker, and has contributed not a little to the debates of the time. His attitude on all the questions which the Democracy hold vital has been like his whole career, purely and absolutely Democratic.

Mr. Stevenson married, in 1866, Letitia Green of Danville, Kentucky, the daughter of the president of Center College, which Mr. Stevenson had attended as a student. They have had four children, one son and three daughters. Mrs. Stevenson, though she has spent many years at Washington, has never mingled much in society, being of a quiet and retiring temperament. She is a great-granddaughter of Joshua Fry, and has served as president of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KANSAS CITY CONVENTION

The Convention at Kansas City on July 5th, 1900, was unique in the history of such bodies. Both time and place had been deliberately chosen by the Democratic committee. The Republicans had gathered at Philadelphia, "the cradle of liberty," the birthplace of both the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, and there formulated a platform which both in itself and in the manner of its pronouncement was a complete rejection of those charters of our liberties. The Democrats resolved to go into the heart of the new empire of the West and there, upon the one hundred and twenty-fourth anniversary of the Declaration, reaffirm the principles of its author, who was also the founder of their party.

Nothing could have been more happily conceived to meet the temper of a people disgusted with the wanton exhibition of militarism and contempt for the law which Mr. Hanna had afforded at Philadelphia.

In some other respects the Kansas City gathering proved to be unique. In the first place, there was from the start practically no struggle over the choice of a nominee for the Presidency. That question had been settled and settled finally by the Democracy itself. Of all the delegates who convened at the Missouri river metropolis on that eventful Fourth of July only a very trifling minority lacked express instruction from their constituents to place Mr. Bryan in nomination. The great Nebraskan was the choice of the people. He was nominated at once and without dissent.

Thus it befell that the first important question to come before the convention related to the platform. Singularly enough, there were delegates present who seemed to think that Mr. Bryan could be induced to accept the nomination upon any declaration of principles to which with heart and conscience he did not wholly assent. Among these were men representing many shades of opinion upon the perennial question of policy. Representatives came from regions widely removed both by distance and by the character of their respective constituencies. There were men from the far East, familiar by daily contact with the

imperious power of the plutocracy as exemplified in every walk of life. There were Democrats of the "old school" from the far South, devoted by heredity to ancient traditions. There was the large and ever enthusiastic delegation from that great empire, the Mississippi valley. There were men from Oregon and California, from the silver States of the Rocky Mountains and from that region somewhat vaguely described as "the middle West." There were extremists, so-called (a term perhaps too often applied to men devoted to principle), and there were trimmers who may be devoted to principle, but are also devoted to success—success at any price.

It is no part of the policy of the Democracy to repress individual opinion. All these delegates at Kansas City had their say and the result was a tremendous and exceedingly distracting pressure upon the candidate as he sat in his home at Lincoln. Letters and telegrams poured in upon him of every tone and tenor. He was urged to "stand fast" by some and by others to make "sacrifices" for this and that. The chief bone of contention appeared to be the silver plank, because there were those who believed that if Mr. Bryan would abate even in some small degree his devotion to the principles conveyed in the Chicago platform four years ago, his chances for election would be enhanced.

It is useless to deny that such appeals would have had their effect upon many men ordinarily accounted honest and faithful to their convictions. After all, success is a great prize, perhaps even the greatest prize, in politics. But those who besought Mr. Bryan to take the path of expediency simply betrayed their ignorance of the man. Success is great; expediency is great; compromise even may be great at some junctures, but to the mind of the man who puts statesmanship above politics, country above party and humanity above country, there is something greater than any or all of these. Such a man was Mr. Jefferson when he braved the anger, the contempt and the insults of his aristocratic relatives and neighbors in old Virginia, to stand forth as the champion of the common people. And such a man, as all now know, is William Jennings Bryan. To all appeals that he might set aside if only for a moment the smallest degree of his devotion to any part of the Chicago platform, he had but one reply: "I am not anxious enough for the nomination to purchase it by sacrificing that which I believe to be right."

Those who best knew Mr. Bryan were not at all surprised that he

should take this stand. Indeed, they would have been surprised at any other. The measure of Mr. Bryan's personal strength is the full conviction of his friends that he would gladly go down to defeat rather than abandon his convictions. If he were not such a man he could not have such friends, nor so many of them. Because he is such a man his friends are the people and their friendship is unflinching to the death.

And now among those even who doubted the wisdom of this inflexible policy there are very few who do not recognize that in thus manfully standing by his guns Mr. Bryan was also realizing the highest policy, if you please, the best politics. Bismarck used to say that his greatest triumphs in diplomacy were often won by the simplest expedient of telling the truth. So it is in politics. The schemes of the most expert trimmers are brushed away by one stroke of honesty and high principle.

Mr. Bryan would rather be right than President. He is right and he will be President.

The choice of a nominee for the Vice-Presidency developed somewhat similar elements of contempt. The so-called radical delegates entertained a preference for a candidate who should embody in his career all the principles which they held most precious. Such a candidate was offered in the person of Mr. Charles A. Towne, who had already been nominated for Vice-President at the Populist Convention in Sioux City, South Dakota. The more conservative element dreaded the effect upon the fortunes of a Democratic ticket, of nominating a man who had never in express terms proclaimed himself to be a Democrat. This element was divided in its choice between Mr. David B. Hill of New York and Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois. The first ballot served to prove that Mr. Stevenson possessed the merit of appealing to both extreme factions. He received 599½ votes at the start and, the temper of the majority being thus displayed, it was deemed wise to cast for him the unanimous ballot of the Convention; which was accordingly done without delay or dissent. Mr. Towne, who on the same day had been offered a second nomination on the ticket of the so-called Silver Republicans, refused this honor, and at once announced his intention of taking the stump for Bryan and Stevenson, thus uniting all the elements of the party with a degree of harmony perhaps unprecedented in the history of the Democracy.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1900

ADOPTED AT KANSAS CITY, JULY 5, 1900.

We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, assembled in national convention on the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man, and our allegiance to the constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the republic. We hold with the United States Supreme Court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of our government, of which the constitution is the form and letter. We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny; and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic.

CONSTITUTION FOLLOWS FLAG.

We hold that the constitution follows the flag, and denounce the doctrine that an Executive or Congress, deriving their existence and their powers from the constitution, can exercise lawful authority beyond it or in violation of it.

We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

CONDEMNS PORTO RICAN LAW.

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rico law, enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority, as a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent and taxation without representation.

It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the commanding general of our army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It doomed to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity.

In this, the first act of its imperialistic program, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy inconsistent with republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

KEEP PLEDGE TO CUBA.

We demand the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world that the United States has no disposition nor intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the Island of Cuba, except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island, and still the administration keeps the government of the island from its people while Republican carpet bag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people.

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration. It has involved the republic in unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government.

INDEPENDENCE FOR FILIPINOS.

The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperilling our form of government, and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence, and, third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of

the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay, but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. The war of criminal aggression against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come.

Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty, the price is always too high.

FOR PEACEFUL EXPANSION.

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the union and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor trade expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the constitution and whose people can never become citizens.

We are in favor of extending the republic's influence among the nations, but believe that that influence should be extended, not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in no wise diminished, and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its position on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

MAINTAIN MONROE DOCTRINE.

The declaration in the Republican platform adopted at the Philadelphia convention held in June, 1900, that the Republican party "steadfastly adheres to the policy announced in the Monroe doctrine," is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe doctrine to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large numbers of people in the eastern hemisphere.

We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and in

all its integrity, both in letter and in spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this continent, and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to European authority.

MILITARISM DENOUNCED.

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army and unnecessary burden of taxation and a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well disciplined State militia are amply sufficient in time of peace.

This republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription. When the nation is in danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender.

The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history and coeval with the Philippine conquest has there been a wholesale departure from our time-honored and approved system of volunteer organization. We denounce it as un-American, un-Democratic, and un-Republican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

WILL WAR WITH TRUSTS.

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer. They lessen the employment of labor, and arbitrarily fix the terms and conditions thereof, and deprive individual energy and small capital of their opportunity for betterment.

They are the most efficient means yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the republic destroyed.

The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party

in State and national platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies; that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican administration in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

MONOPOLY DENOUNCED.

We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, State, and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced, and more stringent ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and requiring all corporations to show before doing business outside of the State of their origin that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted and are not attempting to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts.

TRUST PRODUCTS ON FREE LIST.

Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection.

The failure of the present Republican administration, with an absolute control over all branches of the national government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute books prove the insincerity of the high-sounding phrases of the Republican platform.

RIGHTS OF CAPITAL RESPECTED.

Corporations should be protected in all their rights and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or to control the sovereignty which creates them should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust-breeding measure,

skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law as will enable the commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations, and the public from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

REAFFIRM 16 TO 1 PLANK.

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

We denounce the currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the national government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national bank currency, secured by government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase with population and business the debt must also increase.

FOR GOVERNMENT MONEY.

The Republican currency scheme is therefore a scheme for fastening upon the taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt for the benefit of the banks. We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money, but without legal tender qualities, and demand the retirement of the national bank notes as fast as government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them.

DIRECT VOTE FOR SENATORS.

We favor an amendment to the federal constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

PROTECTION FOR LABOR.

We are opposed to government by injunction; we denounce the blacklist and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employés.

In the interest of American labor and the uplifting of the workingmen, as the corner-stone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that Congress create a Department of Labor, in charge of a Secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet, believing that the elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

LIBERAL PENSIONS.

We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldiers and sailors in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents, and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago platform in 1896 that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

GOVERNMENT TO CONTROL CANAL.

We favor the immediate construction, ownership, and operation of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States, and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the National Republican platform for an isthmian canal in face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the bill pending in Congress. We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests not to be tolerated by the American people.

STATEHOOD FOR TERRITORIES.

We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges, to grant Statehood to the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, and we promise the people of those Territories immediate Statehood and home rule during their condition as Territories, and we favor home rule and a Territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the

West, storing the waters for purposes of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

FOR CHINESE EXCLUSION.

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

SYMPATHY FOR BOERS.

Jefferson said: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none." We approve this wholesome doctrine and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called World politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing of Asia, and we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations and which has already stifled the nation's voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.

Believing in the principles of self-government, and rejecting, as did our forefathers, the aim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African republics. Speaking, as we do, for the entire American nation, except its Republican office-holders, and for all free men everywhere, we extend our sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

CONDEMN REPUBLICAN EXTRAVAGANCE.

We denounce the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high, and which threaten the perpetuation of the oppressive war levies.

We oppose the accumulation of a surplus to be squandered in such barefaced frauds upon the taxpayers as the shipping subsidy bill, which, under the false pretense of prospering American ship-building, would put unearned millions into the pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund.

We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes, and a return to the time-honored Democratic policy of strict economy in governmental expenditures.

LIBERTY A COMMON CAUSE.

Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of our constitutional republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government which have made the United States great, prosperous, and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations.

THE
PEOPLE'S PARTY
ITS
HISTORY, PRINCIPLES AND POLICY

BY
HOWARD S. TAYLOR
MEMBER OF POPULIST NATIONAL COMMITTEE

HISTORY, PRINCIPLES AND POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

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HISTORY.

In its superficialities the People's Party is not a decade old; in its spirit it is as old as humanity. As far back as history or credible tradition goes there has always been a people's party—a party with the tocsin of liberty ever ringing in its heart, phrasing its platforms in different words at different times, changing the emphasis of its ideas with changing conditions, but preserving its moral continuity in this that it has always mustered, camped, marched and fought against the barbarous villainy of "some men eating their bread in the sweat of other men's faces." Greek or Roman, Cymbrian, Saxon or Celt the whole political history of the world has been, in its digest, no more than this—that in every age and land the pathfinders of humanity have struggled for the maxim, "Equal rights for all and special privileges for none;" and in their struggles have discovered the surprising inertia, ignorance, superstition and selfishness of average mankind. So ran the stream of ancient history winding among the twilight Alps of ages past; and so, emerging upon the fields of modern life, it still runs; and the more familiar we become with political issues and events, past and present, the more completely we assent to the political epitome of Lincoln uttered in his Alton speech in 1858:

"It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time; and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the divine right of Kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

In this age-long contest the People's Party has been reincarnated

again and again. The names of the movement, the arenas of conflict and the precise issues at stake have been often changed; but the spirit of populism has been so entirely identical in all lands and ages that the lover of liberty and equality, to-day, may easily identify both his friends and enemies dusty centuries away—and in doing so realize with mingled hope and fear the trite saying that “history repeats itself.”

The People's Party of to-day may be said to have commenced its career in 1872. Circumstances evoked it. The Civil War was over. The most urgent questions of reconstruction had been settled, and the plain people, so long tempest-tossed, began to look around and take note of their condition. They had saved the Union; but it was a Union rapidly drifting away from the maxims of Washington and Jefferson. They had banished chattel slavery; but a new and portentous wage-slavery was taking its place. They had created a plentiful government currency under the stimulus of which the country, even amid the destruction of war, had bounded forward in unprecedented enterprise and achievement of wealth; but already the Wall street conspirators had obtained the retirement of a great portion of the greenback currency and were threatening the remainder, and the wealth of the country was congesting in a few hands. The income tax had been repealed, a specie resumption act passed and the demonetization of silver already far along in gestation contemplated resumption upon one metal instead of two. Bonds were being issued in successive batches and a new growth of plutocracy was bursting into triumphant bloom. These aspects of the time had already been anticipated by Mr. Lincoln. In a letter to William F. Elkin, written November 21st, 1864, Lincoln said:

“As a result of the war corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow; and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless.”

Eight years after this utterance the prophecy was in rapid course of fulfilment. General prices had greatly fallen and were still falling. Business failures had increased to a panic rate. Multitudes were without employment and the financial cyclone of 1873 was but a few months away. Such conditions, the clear consequences of misrule, called for a

reform party—and it came. On February 21st, 1872, a convention assembled at Columbus, Ohio, and a party was organized, calling itself

THE LABOR REFORM PARTY.

A platform was adopted of which the following is a substantial digest:

1. Declares for equal rights for all and special privileges for none.
 2. Demands a purely national circulating medium, based on the faith and resources of the nation, a full legal tender for all debts, issued directly by the government without the intervention of private corporations, and exchangeable for government bonds bearing interest of one cent a day for each \$100.
 3. Demands that the national debt should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract, at the earliest option of the government.
 4. Declares that the burdens of government should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes, and requires that government bonds should not be exempted from taxation.
 5. Demands that the public lands should not be granted to corporations, but should be held for landless settlers only.
 6. Demands a tariff for revenue mainly, laid upon articles of luxury, admitting free all articles of common use not produced in this country.
 7. Demands prohibition of Chinese laborers.
 8. Eight hour day for mechanics and laborers employed upon government work.
 9. Abolition of prison contract work.
 10. Money required for wars should be raised by a tax upon wealth and not left as a debt for posterity.
 11. Government to control railroads and telegraphs and regulate fares, freights and rates.
 12. Demands one term, only, for President.
- Upon the foregoing platform the convention nominated for President David Davis, of Illinois, and for Vice-President Joel Parker, of New Jersey. Both gentlemen declined, and the party did not poll a distinctive vote.

But the movement was not dead. The financial crisis of 1873 came, and the depression that followed showed no sign of abatement during the succeeding four years. The demonetization of silver, stealthily accomplished in 1873, was known to the world in 1876; and some of its conse-

CHARLES A. TOWNE

A notable instance of the rise of a young man into national prominence even though but once elected to an office which made him no more conspicuous than many others of his colleagues now almost forgotten, is the career of Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, nominated by the Populists at their Sioux Falls convention as their candidate for the vice-presidency on the ticket with William Jennings Bryan. Mr. Towne has gained his high position in the public mind by sheer force of his ability, which is recognized by all who know him as of high character. In the sequence of events there are not many things to catalogue under his name. But the things that have happened have been worth while and have left their impress on the movements for which Mr. Towne stands.

Charles A. Towne was born in Ingham county, Michigan, near Lansing, the capital city of that peninsular state, in October, 1858. He is thus but one year older than William Jennings Bryan, whose fellow candidate he was chosen to be by the Populists. Studying in the country and village schools readily in reach from his birthplace, he made a fine record for aptness and faithfulness as a pupil and prepared himself thoroughly for college. It was upon the University of Michigan that his choice fell for a higher education, that great institution through whose academic halls have passed so many thousands of students, so many of them to become eminent in the walks of life which they followed. To Ann Arbor then he went, remaining in that favorable atmosphere until he had graduated, not only from the academic but from the law courses as well, and in all with high credit. In his college course he stood as high in the personal estimation of his fellow-students and his professors as he did in his scholastic work—an evidence of the possession of qualities which are not always found in the same man.

From his boyhood Mr. Towne has been an orator. It was his noteworthy gifts in that direction that went far to attract local attention to him while he was yet a young man, and that determined his selection of the law as a profession. Completing his law studies in the university, in a few years he removed to Duluth, "the zenith city of the unsalted seas," of Proctor Knott's famous speech, and reached there in time to rise in his profession with the rise of the city. Of course, he could not remain silent in the midst of general activity, so he plunged

into the labor of political campaigning for the benefit of others, becoming known as one of the most scholarly, logical and convincing of stump speakers while at the same time he commanded the qualities which make an orator popular. His oratory is not cyclonic, but argumentative, incisive and convincing. Of a judicial and deliberative cast of thought, he takes great pains to be sure that he is right on a given subject before he expresses himself on it.

In 1894, having firmly established himself in the popular esteem, Mr. Towne was given the nomination for congressman by the Republicans and was elected by an enormous majority. In Congress he sprang into public notice by a free silver speech, surprised the House of Representatives and fixed the attention even of the old-timers in the press galleries. At once he became one of the noted orators of Congress. Mr. Towne always had been a Republican until he fell into disagreement with the party on the currency question. He consistently stood for the free coinage of silver. In the St. Louis convention of 1896, which nominated Mr. McKinley for the Presidency, Mr. Towne was a delegate from Minnesota. When his opposition failed and the convention adopted a plank standing for gold, he accompanied Senator Teller, of Colorado, in his famous bolt from the convention.

In 1896, as a result of his abandonment of the Republican party, the Democrat-Populist fusion party nominated him for Congress, but he was defeated. Mr. Towne so reduced the normal Republican majority of the district that the result was a veritable triumph for him. Again in 1898 he was defeated as a result of a second fusion candidacy. He has called himself not a Democrat, but a Silver Republican, and in 1898 was elected national chairman of the Silver Republicans. However, Mr. Towne's earnest advocacy of free silver coinage has not been the only point at which he differed from his former party friends, the Republicans. He is in full sympathy with many of the principles of Democracy, and now leans strongly toward that party, as it is exemplified in Mr. Bryan's personality and views. He was nominated by the Populists at Sioux Falls by acclamation. The Democratic convention in Kansas City considered him a strong possibility for the vice-presidency on their own ticket, but finally he was defeated for that nomination.



CHARLES A. TOWNE
MINNESOTA

quences had been felt and measured. The sentiment of dissent took on new energy demanding expression. On May 17, 1876, a convention assembled at Indianapolis, Indiana, and organized as

THE INDEPENDENT GREENBACK PARTY.

The platform adopted presented the following principles:

1. The immediate and unconditional repeal of the Specie Resumption Act.
2. Full legal tender, greenback money to be issued directly to the people, convertible into U. S. bonds bearing interest at the rate of one cent a day upon each \$100.
3. Legislation impartially for all legitimate business, agricultural, mining, manufacturing and commercial.
4. Protests against any further issue of gold bonds.
5. Protests against selling bonds to buy silver wherewith to displace fractional currency.

Upon this platform the convention nominated for President Peter Cooper, of New York, and for Vice-President Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio. This ticket at the election in the following November (1876) polled a popular vote of 81,740.

In the presidential contest of 1880, with a platform but little changed, the "Greenbackers" came to the polls with Gen. James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and B. J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President, casting 307,306 votes for their candidates.

In 1884 they presented Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, for President, and A. M. West, of Mississippi, for Vice-President. Popular vote, 175,370.

The National Greenback party disappeared after the presidential election of 1884. In its last effort at the polls its vote had been notably diminished; and, although in certain districts, the movement continued for some time to preserve an organization, it was plain to all that as a national party it had culminated. But it had achieved a great purpose. It had created a literature, diffused intelligence and powerfully directed attention to the new aspects of the old "money question." It had also obtained important governmental action. In February, 1878, the Bland-Allison Act, preventing any further retirement of greenbacks and partially remonetizing silver, became a law. In March of the same year Congress passed an act reissuing forty-four millions of dollars in green-

backs, previously retired; and in October, following, Mr. Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, announced the willingness of the government to receive greenbacks at par in payment of customs duties. The Supreme Court of the United States had, also, handed down a decision affirming the constitutionality of the greenback as a legal tender, thus removing all doubt as to the value of that kind of currency. As a consequence of these measures, the currency of the country began to increase in volume and, most of all, the bank hoards that had been in hiding through the long period of depression, 1872-8, now scenting a period of rising prices and increasing business activity, began to pour forth into the channels of trade.

It is worthy of note that during the discussion of the Bland-Allison Bill the advocates of the gold standard, both in and out of Congress, confidently predicted that the bill, if suffered to become a law, would ruin credit, destroy confidence, drive gold away, and increase the then existing commercial distress. No such results followed. On the contrary, a moderate degree of prosperity gradually returned; and, immersed in reviving business and industry, the Greenbackers without surrendering their views ceased to press them with their former vigor. The Democrats, too, very generally took up the Greenback doctrines, fusion became the political policy of both organizations, and, while the ideas of the Greenbackers survived, the party that gave them their earliest and most powerful momentum gradually disappeared from the national forum.

During the four years following, 1884-8, the masterful hand of President Cleveland drew the Democratic party quite away from its Greenbacker allies; and, toward the close of that period, the aggressive movements of the gold standard forces aroused, again, the Greenbacker sentiment. Added to this the unrest of the laboring classes, steadily growing under increasing provocations, had come to the point of political party action. Accordingly came the

UNION LABOR PARTY:

This party, largely composed of Knights of Labor and members of The Agricultural Wheel, Farmers' Alliance, Grangers, Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, Single Taxers, etc., was quite dominated by the old-line Greenbackers. It met in national convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 16, 1888, and nominated A. J. Streator, of Illinois, for President,

and Charles E. Cunningham, of Arkansas, for Vice-President, polling in the following November a popular vote of 146,935.

Several circumstances combined to make the future outlook of the Union Labor party unfavorable. It was felt that the name was too narrow—that the organization should be designated by a title not so rigidly that of a class. It was further believed that, with proper deliberation and adjustment of elements, all of the reform organizations (of which there were several then in the field) might be brought together under the title *People's party*. It was also felt necessary that the platform, which had followed closely the Greenback platform of 1884, should be reconstructed so as to more effectually state the issues of the times.

In pursuance of these opinions, a convention of reformers was held at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 19, 20, 21, 1891. After much discussion a platform was agreed upon, the name "*People's party*" adopted and a party policy pronounced. The policy was well indicated by an aluminum medal struck and widely distributed in commemoration of the occasion. Of the size and color of a silver dollar, the medal presented upon one side the words, "Commemorative of the founding of the *People's party* at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 19 and 20, 1891." Upon the other side was depicted a two-horse wagon being driven along a road—the latter labeled, "Finance, Land, Transportation," the three chief subjects of the platform, followed by the motto, "Keep in the middle of the road"—which was equivalent to a declaration that the new party would accept no schemes of co-operation or fusion with any other party.

The convention did not name candidates, but satisfied with the progress made adjourned to meet again at St. Louis, Mo., on Washington's birthday, 1892. Reassembling at the place and date appointed, the convention again patiently wrestled with the problems of the platform and the harmonization of its many diverse elements. The result was encouraging; and, having fixed, substantially, the party principles and terms of representation the St. Louis conference called the

FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Pursuant to the call, the national convention met at Omaha, Neb., July 4, 1892, and adopted the following platform, which is so truly representative of the *People's party* principles that it is given in full:

THE OMAHA PLATFORM.

Assembled upon the one hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's party of America in their first national convention, invoking upon their actions the blessing of Almighty God, puts forth in the name and in behalf of the people of the country the following preamble and declaration of principles:

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation. We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine on the bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind, and the possessors of these in turn despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt, payable in legal tender currency, has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

Silver, which has been accepted as coin ever since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold, by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor; and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forbodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the estab-

lishment of an absolute despotism. We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggle of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both of these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them.

Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver, and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives and children on the altar of Mammon, to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires. Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation and filled with the spirit of the grand general chief, who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of "the plain people," with which class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the national constitution, to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets, that the Civil War is over and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood. Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world. Our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must in a few weeks or months be exchanged for billions of dollars of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange. The results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. We pledge ourselves that if given power we will labor to correct these evils by wise and reasonable legislation in accordance with the terms of our platform.

We believe that the powers of government—in other words of the people—should be expanded (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall justify, to the end that oppression, injustice and poverty shall eventually cease in the land.

While our sympathies as a party of reform are naturally upon the side of every proposition which will tend to make men intelligent, virtuous and temperate, we nevertheless regard these questions—important as they are—as secondary to the great issues now pressing for solution, and upon which not only our individual prosperity, but the very existence of free institutions depend; and we ask all men to first help us to determine whether we are to have a Republic to administer, before we differ as to the conditions upon which it is to be administered, believing that the forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is righted and equal rights and privileges established for all the men and women of this country; we declare, therefore, for the

UNION OF THE PEOPLE.

First—That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual; may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic and the uplifting of mankind.

Second—Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any man will not work neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civil labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

Third—We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads, and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of national administration by the use of such government employes.

THE QUESTION OF FINANCE.

We demand a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, issued by the general government, only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution direct to the people at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.

We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

We demand a graduated income tax.

We believe that the money of the country should be kept, as much as possible, in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.

CONTROL OF TRANSPORTATION.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

The telegraph and telephone, like the postoffice system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

RECLAIMING THE LAND.

The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes; and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

The following resolutions were offered independent of the platform and were adopted as expressive of the sentiment of the convention:

Resolved, That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elec-

tions, and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without Federal intervention through the adoption by the States of the unperverted Australian secret ballot system.

Resolved, That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now levied upon the domestic industries of this country.

Resolved, That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.

Resolved, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our wage-earners, and we denounce the present ineffective law against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable emigration.

Resolved, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of the organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.

Resolved, That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition, and we condemn the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired assassins of plutocracy, assisted by Federal officers.

Resolved, That we commend to the thoughtful consideration of the people and the reform press the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum.

Resolved, That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of the Senators by a direct vote of the people.

Resolved, That we oppose any subsidy, or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.

Upon this platform Gen. James B. Weaver, of Iowa, was nominated for President, and for Vice-President, Gen. James G. Field, of Virginia. A vigorous campaign was conducted in all parts of the Union and in November following the party polled a popular vote of 1,055,424; securing twenty-two electoral votes for its candidates.

In the two following years the People's party continued to make phenomenal gains, so that in the State elections of 1894 its popular vote

increased to an admitted aggregate of 1,564,318 votes, a gain of half a million over the vote of 1892. But members of the party claimed that even this extraordinary increase did not fully represent the Populist growth. All over the country, but particularly in the South, the officials of the old parties, being in charge of the election machinery, failed to count many Populist votes—or counted them for the wrong candidates; and many facts and figures go to show that in 1894 the People's party really polled more than two million votes.

In the meantime the party's progress was manifesting itself in the election of its candidates. In the Fifty-fifth Congress it had six Senators and sixteen Representatives. Several States had gone under Populist control and several others were apparently upon the verge of doing so. Populist newspapers, books and pamphlets were rapidly multiplying and it seemed as though the People's party was upon the threshold of a wide-sweeping national victory. Then the utterly unexpected happened.

From the first term of President Cleveland down to 1896 the Democratic party had scarcely been distinguishable from its Republican rival so far as political principles and practices were concerned. Apparently Democrats had definitely abandoned the idea of Jefferson and Jackson and had become hopelessly plutocratic. This was especially so concerning the money question—a question upon which the Cleveland school of Democracy seemed to be more completely controlled by Wall street than were the Republicans themselves. But this attitude was only apparent. Down beneath the surface of that party the ancient currents of Jeffersonian thought were still running broad and deep. Official spokesmen might be recalcitrant, but the rank and file and those untitled leaders who regarded politics, not as a business, but as a duty, still clung to the maxim, "Equal rights for all and special privileges for none;" and they found in the signs of the times abundant reason for urging the application of that fundamental idea. All through the year 1895 this Jeffersonian element was busy agitating and organizing, not against opposing parties, but against their own leaders. Their work was so effectual that when the party met in national convention at Chicago, July 7, 1896, a change of policy almost equivalent to a revolution was certain. With a degree of resolution amounting to temerity the convention rejected the counsel of its most noted leaders, adopted a platform ringing with old-fashioned Democratic ideas and capped the climax by

nominating for President William J. Bryan, a young man from a Western State, powerful only in the affections of the people and rich only in the affluence of his mind and heart.

The People's party met in national convention at St. Louis, Mo., July 22, 1896. It was at once apparent that the Populists had a great problem before them—the question of fusion; and for three days it was debated—always with heat and sometimes with absolute rancor. Many of the delegates, particularly those from the South, had experienced great provocations at the hands of Democrats, and, in many sections, the Populists, after long and vexatious campaigning, in which numbers of them had sacrificed their business and social standing and suffered severe personal insults and injuries, were just upon the eve of victory. To these fusion meant not only a humiliating surrender to their political enemies, but the abandonment of personal interests. They urged, too, that the Democratic party was not acting in good faith; that the tender of fusion was a mere piece of strategy like that which had previously disintegrated the Greenback party and gradually carried its members back to a reactionary policy culminating in the last administration of Cleveland.

Upon the other hand a number of delegates who had been pioneers in the Populist movement and who were eminent by reason of their talents and past services to the party, insisted upon fusion as a plain duty laid upon their patriotism. They cited the indisputable integrity of Mr. Bryan; referred to the Chicago platform as the embodiment of some of the most substantial ideas of the People's party, and, as a conclusive argument for the sincerity of the Democrats, pointed out the fact that the plutocratic element of the Democratic party had with astonishing unanimity and vigor denounced the Chicago platform, *toto ceolo*, and were everywhere organizing to defeat Mr. Bryan by any and all means within their power. These delegates also urged that the Populists had always claimed to be in the field not for the personal or party advantage, but for the salvation of the country; and the country, they urged, was in such a grave crisis, so much was at stake in the election to follow, that it was the manifest duty of all the people to unite in the common defense upon one ticket.

After much heated wrangling, in which at several junctures the convention threatened to go to pieces, the fusionists prevailed and Mr. Bryan was nominated. But the convention refused to nominate the

Democratic candidate for Vice-President, Mr. Sewall, and insisted, even before nominating Mr. Bryan, upon naming for the Vice-Presidency Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, as the especial representative of the People's party. As a consequence the allied parties, Democratic, People's and Silver Republicans, went through the campaign of 1896 with two candidates for Vice-President and with no discoverable disadvantage arising therefrom. In the course of the campaign the members of the allied parties, meeting together under circumstances productive of sympathy, freely exchanging views and, above all, experiencing the welding influence of a common cause assaulted by a common enemy, insensibly grew together in thought and feeling so that, although sustaining a doubtful defeat in the elections of 1896, as the contest of 1900 approached it became certain that the allies would again be together.

The last national convention of the People's party met at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 9, 1900, and adopted the following platform:

PLATFORM, 1900.

The Populist party of the United States, in convention assembled, congratulating its supporters on the wide extension of its principles in all directions, does hereby affirm its adherence to the fundamental principles proclaimed in its two prior platforms and calls upon all who desire to avert the subversion of free institutions by corporate and imperialistic power to unite with it in bringing the government back to the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln.

It extends to its allies in the struggle for financial and economic freedom assurances of its loyalty to the principles which animate the allied forces and the promise of honest and hearty co-operation in every effort for their success.

To the people of the United States we offer the present platform as the expression of our unalterable convictions:

Resolved, That we denounce the act of March 14, 1900, as the culmination of a long series of conspiracies to deprive the people of their constitutional rights over the money of the nation and relegate to a gigantic money trust the control of the purse, and hence of the people.

We denounce this act, first, for making all money obligations, domestic and foreign, payable in gold coin, or its equivalent, enormously increasing the burdens of the debtors and enriching the creditors.

Second—For refunding "coin bonds" not to mature for years, into

long-time gold bonds, so as to make their payment improbable and our debt perpetual.

Third—For taking from the treasury over \$50,000,000 in a time of war and presenting it as a premium to bondholders to accomplish the refunding of bonds not due.

Fourth—For doubling the capital of bankers by returning to them the face value of their bonds in current money notes, so that they may draw one interest from the government and another from the people.

Fifth—For allowing banks to expand and contract their circulation at pleasure, thus controlling prices of all products.

Sixth—For authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue new gold bonds to an unlimited amount whenever he deems it necessary to replenish the gold hoard, thus enabling usurers to secure more bonds and more bank currency, by drawing gold from the treasury, thereby creating an "endless chain" for perpetually adding to a perpetual debt.

Seventh—For striking down the greenback in order to force the people to borrow \$346,000,000 more from the banks, at an annual cost of over \$20,000,000.

While barring out the money of the constitution, this law opens the printing mints of the treasury to the free coinage of bank paper money, to enrich the few and impoverish the many.

We pledge anew the People's party, never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute books, the Lincoln greenback restored, the bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired.

We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted dollar for dollar for bank notes issued by private corporations under special privileges granted by law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws, the remaining portion of the bank notes replaced with full legal tender government paper money and its volume so controlled as to maintain at all times a stable money market and a stable price level.

We demand a graduated income and inheritance tax to the end that wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the govern-

ment for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

With Thomas Jefferson, we declare the land, including all natural sources of wealth, the inalienable heritage of the people. The government should so act as to secure homes for the people and prevent land monopoly. The original homestead policy should be enforced and future settlers upon the public domain should be entitled to a free homestead, while all who have paid an acreage price to the government under existing laws should have their homestead rights restored.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people and on a non-partisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation and that the extortion, tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment, if not the destruction, of the political rights and personal liberties of the person, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

Trusts, the overshadowing evil of the age, are the result and culmination of the private ownership and control of the three great instruments of commerce—money, transportation and the means of transmission of information, which instruments of commerce are public functions and which our forefathers declared in the constitution should be controlled by the people, through their Congress, for the public welfare. The one remedy for the trusts is that the ownership and control be assumed and exercised by the people.

We further demand that all tariffs on goods controlled by trusts should be abolished.

To cope with the trust evil, the people must act directly without the intervention of representatives who may be controlled or influenced. We, therefore, demand direct legislation, giving the people the law-making and veto power under the initiative and referendum. A majority of the people can never be corruptly influenced.

Applauding the valor of our army and navy in the Spanish War, we denounce the conduct of the administration in changing a war for humanity into a war of conquest. The action of the administration in the Philippines is in conflict with all the precedents of our national life; at war with the Declaration of Independence and the plain precepts of humanity.

Murder and arson have been our response to the appeals to the people who asked only to establish a free government in their own land. We demand a stoppage of this war of extermination by the assurance to the Filipinos of independence and protection under a stable government of their own creation.

The Declaration of Independence, the constitution and the American flag are one and inseparable. The island of Porto Rico is a part of the territory of the United States, and by levying special and extraordinary customs duties on the commerce of that island the administration has violated the constitution, abandoned the fundamental principles of American liberty, and has striven to give the lie to the contention of our fathers that there should be no taxation without representation.

Out of the imperialism which would force an undesirable dominion upon the people of the Philippines springs the un-American cry for a large standing army. Nothing in the character or purposes of our people justifies us in ignoring the plain lesson of history and putting our liberties in jeopardy by assuming the burden of militarism, which is crushing the people of the Old World. We denounce the administration for its sinister efforts to substitute a standing army for the citizen soldiery, which is the best safeguard of the Republic.

We extend to the brave Boers of South Africa our sympathy and moral support in their patriotic struggle for the right of self-government, and we are unalterably opposed to any alliance, open or covert, between the United States and any other nation that will tend to the destruction of human liberty.

A further manifestation of imperialism is to be found in the mining districts of Idaho. In the Coeur d'Alene soldiers have been used to overawe miners striving for a greater measure of industrial independence. We denounce the State government of Idaho and the Federal government for employing the military arm of the government to abridge the civil rights of the people and to enforce an infamous permit system, which denies to laborers their inherent liberty and compels them to forswear their manhood and their right before being permitted to seek employment.

The importation of Japanese and other laborers under contract to serve monopolistic corporations is a notorious and flagrant violation of the immigrant laws. We demand that the Federal government shall take cognizance of this menacing evil and repress it under existing laws.

We further pledge ourselves to strive for the enactment of more stringent laws for the exclusion of Mongolian and Malayan immigration.

We indorse municipal ownership of public utilities and declare that the advantages which have accrued to the public under that system would be multiplied a hundred-fold by its extension to natural interstate monopolies.

We denounce the practice of issuing injunction in the cases of disputes between the employers and employes, making criminal acts by organizations which are not criminal when performed by individuals, and demand legislation to restrain the evil.

We demand that United States Senators and all other officials, as far as practicable, be elected by direct vote of the people.

Believing that the elective franchise and untrammelled ballot are essential to a government of, for and by the people, the People's party condemns the wholesale system of disfranchisement by coercion and intimidation adopted in some States, as unrepugnant and undemocratic. And we declare it to be the duty of the several State Legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free and fair ballot and an honest count.

We favor home rule in the Territories and District of Columbia and the early admission of the Territories as States.

Candid reader, it is apparent that there is nothing in the Populist program that is extravagant, and but little that is new. In fact the reforms proposed by them are not a reckless plunging into new and untried ways, but a cautious return to the elementary ideas upon which our government was founded and which have been applied, tested and accepted for a century and a quarter past.

They are Greenbackers, to be sure, but not only has that kind of money been issued at intervals by the general government all through its history, but before the Union was created several of the colonies had successfully employed it. As far back as 1764, Benjamin Franklin, speaking from a triumphant experiment in Pennsylvania, said:

"On the whole no method has hitherto been found to establish a medium of trade, in lieu of coin, equal in all its advantages to bills of credit founded on sufficient taxes for discharging it at the end of the time, and in the meantime made a general legal tender."

Thomas Jefferson in his letter to Mr. Epps, June 24, 1813, insists upon

a financial reform in which the gold and silver currency of the country should be supplemented by treasury bills (greenbacks) receivable for all taxes, and that the power to issue paper money should be taken away from all State and private banks. He says:

"Congress would, of course, begin by obliging unchartered banks to wind up their affairs within a short time, and the others as their charters expired, forbidding the subsequent circulation of their paper. This they would supply with their own, bottomed, every emission, on an adequate tax and bearing or not bearing interest, as the state of the public pulse should indicate."

This greenback theory had the express approval of President Jackson, and, long years afterward, in a most poignant crisis of our country's history, President Lincoln resorted to it as the only resource of the imperiled Union; and the greenback currency then emitted not only carried the country through the throes of the Civil War, but opened up a period of industrial energy and prosperity without a parallel in all our history.

Populists are also in favor of both gold and silver as standard money; but in this, again, they are not rash iconoclasts. From the foundation of the government down to 1873 no one ever dreamed of leveling a hostile legislative act against silver; and when the white metal was eventually demonetized the end was accomplished by such secret, sinister methods, and was followed by such calamities, that Populists felt justified in denouncing the act as "The crime of '73." Populists merely propose to re-establish the status quo—the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, which is approximately the historical ratio, the world's ratio, and, in considerable periods of time, nature's ratio of production. It is, also, the only ratio considered by the friends of bimetallism or tendered by its enemies. They insist that the unlimited coinage of both metals would not give us too much money. The recent financial act passed by a Republican Congress which, among other things, provides for a large increase of national bank paper, is a confession of the insufficiency of the present volume, and our contention is that this insufficiency should be supplied by silver and not by the notes of private corporations predestined to alternately expand and contract without regard to any interests save those of the bankers and their colleagues.

Here, indeed, we touch the center of the Populist money philosophy.

Populists affirm that the sovereign function of "coining money and regulating the value thereof," by the express terms of the constitution and by all considerations of equity, belongs to the general government, and cannot be lawfully or justly delegated to banking corporations. This is the very vortex of the money war which has raged in this country with but little intermission for a hundred years. With the first staggering steps of our Republic came the financial jugglers, shrewd with the knowledge of British bank methods, and proposed to establish a United States Bank, falsely so called. As a matter of fact that institution was a private corporation, and in the course of time it and its multiplying branches came to resemble in a remarkable way the present National Bank Trust. Insensibly it and other private banks came into control of the country's currency, the government was shorn of its constitutional power "to coin money and regulate the value thereof," and private bank corporations clothed with that function of sovereignty were enabled to collect toll of all passing business and, by loaning their notes, perform that piece of legerdemain described by Jefferson as "drawing interest on what they owe." Of course such institutions have always been anxious to destroy every kind of government money except gold. As the yellow coinage has ever been limited in quantity and has rarely been in general circulation as a medium of exchange among the people, and as it frequently is a profitable commodity for banks to buy, sell and juggle with, no attack has been made upon it; but greenbacks and silver—the people's money, the price-making currency of legitimate business—has been the object of their concerted and ingenious attacks persisted in at every favorable juncture throughout our national history. To retire the people's money meant a vacuum to be filled by the bank's money—an arrangement so vastly profitable to its inventors that they could well afford to pay out immense sums to secure the control of newspapers, public officials and political parties.

At this time the entire scheme of the banks, insidiously developed through many years and upon various pretenses, seems to have reached a triumphant consummation.

They have driven out of the Republican party the last sentiment of dissent and made it their willing and industrious servitor, without division or desire of inquiry; and their agents are maintained in other parties to counsel timidity where nothing more is possible. They have, by the recent action of Congress, made gold the sole money of ultimate re-

demption; and it is apparent that under prevalent conditions the yellow metal must gradually cease to be used as money in any proper sense. Instead of measuring values and facilitating exchanges among the people, it will be chiefly used by the gold cabals to extend the national debt, extract gold bonds from the government and earn premiums by being bought and sold backward and forward across the ocean.

The same act provides for a limitless issue of bonds from time to time to maintain the gold redemption fund—a provision which plainly confesses that the maintenance of the gold standard means an indefinite increase of debt and taxation for the people.

And finally the act completes the demonetization of silver and the retirement of the last of the greenbacks. The hiatus in the currency so created is to be filled by national bank notes; and thus, practically, the entire money function has been taken away from the general government and handed over to a huge money trust—a giant monopoly commissioned to expand or contract its issues of paper as it may see fit, to lay all production under tribute and to bring all borrowers and business men upon their knees before a power which has all the vices and none of the virtues of a monarchy.

Populists are opposed to the entire program. They propose to re-invest the government with the exclusive power to issue money and regulate its value, and to insist that this be done without the agency or intervention of banking corporations; and they are so sure of the soundness of their views that they confidently expect the money question to remain as a major issue in politics until this end is achieved.

Upon the land question Populists stand upon the radical proposition that "the earth belongs in usufruct to the living"—that it is the inheritance of the people. But this is no new proposition. It was laid down and amplified by Jefferson in a letter to Madison, September 6, 1789, in which he argued that no man could acquire such a title to land as would enable him to absolutely control and permanently dispose of it without reference to his contemporaries. Every child born into the world has a natural and inalienable right to use a portion of the earth. Such was the concept of Jefferson and such is the view of Populists. The latter have not, in their platforms, followed the postulate to its logical conclusion. They have satisfied themselves by demanding that the government shall recover the large tracts now owned by absentee

aliens, by railroad corporations and by speculators, and that when so recovered the land shall be sacredly kept for and conveyed to settlers for actual use only.

Doubtless the fundamental thought leads straight to the single tax, or, at least, to a tax on land values that would accomplish the purpose of the single tax so far as the ownership of land is concerned.

It is but right to add that, while the Populist platforms have not extended the land theory thus far, many members of the party are fully committed to the land philosophy of Henry George.

Railroads, telegraphs, telephones, street railways, gas plants, waterworks, etc., Populists insist, are necessarily monopolies and should not be left in the hands of private parties, but should be owned and operated by the public under a rigid civil service code. They point out the following patent evils of the private ownership of these public utilities:

The stocks and bonds of railroads, telegraphs and telephones are largely owned abroad, thus enabling foreigners not only to draw away from this country immense sums which should remain here, but to exercise a dangerous power in American politics—most dangerous because unrestrained by the sentiments of patriotism or the influence of native associations.

In a smaller degree the private ownership of such utilities as street railways, gas plants and waterworks tends in the same direction. Even when not owned abroad they are commonly owned in communities other than the ones in which they are operated; and thus we have the discouraging phenomenon of one city deriving revenues from another, thereby destroying the equilibrium of wealth distribution and facilitating that congestion of capital which is now dislocating our industrial system. It has been found, too, that such owners are not content to exercise their rights of citizenship where they reside, but by indirect yet potent ways control elections where their plants are—making the fundamental American principle of local autonomy less capable of realization from year to year.

Private ownership enables small coteries of men not only to levy upon the public "all that the traffic will bear," but to discriminate between persons and places—to set up and pull down with autocratic hands. The great and growing TRUSTS, the portent of our times, owe their amazing development largely to such discriminations. Up to the

present time all attempts to equalize railroad rates by law have been lamentable failures, and it is safe to say that the situation will not be better until the motive and means of such favoritism are destroyed by public ownership.

But immeasurably the worst abuse of private ownership is manifested in the common corruption of our governmental agencies. With princely hoards of capital in their hands, with thousands of places to give and favors of all kinds to bestow, and with easy methods always open to commit crimes by proxy, driven by an unappeasable appetite for dividends, the bribery of legislative bodies and public officials by the corporations has become less of an art than an invocation. Illustrations are superfluous. Although such events are always ambushed with the most expert cunning, so much has become public that many of our people have insensibly grown to doubt the feasibility of representative government and are beginning to despair of the Republic.

In the inception of the People's party its leaders believed that their proposed reforms concerning finance, land and transportation would be sufficient to correct all considerable abuses and turn the country back toward a status of honest and hopeful competition. Nor has the Populist view greatly changed, although, year by year, the evils which they were first to discover and denounce have multiplied and grown graver. There are the trusts; but with finance, land and transportation reformed upon the Populist plan it is difficult to see how the trusts could survive.

There is imperialism; but at bottom imperialism is merely capitalism hunting for new franchises and coolie labor; and capitalism, ousted from its special privileges here, would no longer be able to march our armies and sail our navies in unrepudican wars of conquest against distant peoples.

Populists also insist upon an income tax. They see no reason why a principle of taxation generally accepted elsewhere in the world should be omitted in the United States where, more than in any other country, vast wealth hides itself in paper securities beyond the reach of assessors. That wealth should, at least, bear its fair share of the burdens of government seems a proposition so self-evident as to require no argument. That an income tax law is unconstitutional only removes the issue a step backward. The people may amend the constitution if they will—but this carries the question to political parties and makes one of the

issues of the present campaign. The Republican party, by its history and the silence of its last national platform, stands opposed to the income tax. Democrats and Populists are for it.

Populists are in favor of direct legislation—the initiative and referendum. They have a profound confidence in the people, in their integrity and substantial intelligence, and they appeal to all history to prove that the masses can govern themselves better than the classes can govern them. They point out the fact that of recent years high officials are greatly extending their powers, chiefly by usurpation; that legislative bodies are growing more vulnerable to bribery, and that the party now in power is manifesting an increasing disposition to reposit legislative functions in various boards and commissions far removed from popular influence. The obvious remedy for these departures is to carry the powers of legislation back to the people by the referendum.

POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

In the early days of its history the party was thoroughly committed to the policy of no fusion. "Keep in the middle of the road" was its motto; and at that time all the conditions justified the maxim. But, as we have seen, in 1896 the Democratic party openly avowed some of the major ideas of the Populists under such circumstances as attested their sincerity, and in the common opinion of the reformers the crisis present was so grave that it called upon all the plain people of America to sacrifice minor differences and personal ambitions and unite for the common good. The results of that campaign were doubtless injurious to the party organization, but the party principles were greatly advanced, and, while the Populist might have been disappointed as a partisan, as a patriot he was encouraged.

In the impending campaign the great majority of the founders and first friends of the People's party will support the National Democratic ticket. They believe that the radical differences between the national platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties opens a wide, plain road of duty for them—and fusion, now, is "the middle of the road;" and they add to their original maxim the saying of Lincoln—the philosophy upon which he founded his composite party—"Stand with whoever is right; stand with him while he is right, and leave him when he is wrong."

THE
PROHIBITION PARTY
ITS
PRINCIPLES AND PLATFORM

WITH SKETCHES OF ITS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, JOHN G.
WOOLLEY AND HENRY B. METCALF

BY
OLIVER W. STEWART

THE PROHIBITION PARTY

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The Prohibition party enters the campaign of 1900 better prepared for an aggressive campaign than at any time in the past. The money question of 1896 divided the Prohibitionists as it did the other parties, causing some of them to vote for McKinley, some for Bryan and others for Bentley of Nebraska, the candidate of the "Broad Gaugers" who bolted the convention at Pittsburg. This, of course, caused a great loss in the vote, but no sooner was that loss announced at the close of the campaign of 1896 than there began simultaneously in many states a movement toward a thorough organization of the party. In this the Prohibitionists of the state of New York took the lead, raising a campaign fund of \$13,000 for work in that state. Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana and many other states put organizers in the field to raise funds and organize the workers. The result of all this has been a steady increase in the party vote as shown at several elections.

The campaign of 1900 finds the party thoroughly united and confident that it will poll the largest vote in its history at the coming election.

This wondrous vitality is often the subject of comment by the old party politicians. For over twenty years this party has had its tickets in the field, and has had as its candidates such men as Neal Dow, John P. St. John, Clinton B. Fisk, Gen. John Bidwell and Joshua Levering. As a rule, minority parties have but a brief history. Their day is a short one. For a moment they appear upon the surface and then sink to rise no more, but the Prohibition party has had a lease of life unequalled by any minority party, except possibly the Abolition party. The reason for this is not difficult to find. One of the principles of the party from which it has steadfastly refused to depart is that it will not fuse with any party for the sake of the election of any of its members to office. This is the rock upon which minority parties often have been wrecked. So well known is this principle among Prohibitionists that any leader would instantly be read out of the party who would propose to deliver its votes to any party in exchange for an office.

The history of the Prohibition party since 1896 deserves more than passing notice. The remarkable campaign of that year brought the party back again to its original basis, that of a united fight against the liquor traffic and the license system which perpetuates that traffic. It is not pretended that there are no other questions of importance, but the Prohibition Party takes the position that there are no questions of sufficient importance to justify one in ignoring the saloon and license evil. There are leading Prohibitionists who believe in gold. As many, doubtless, believe in silver; some of them believe in expansion and others are opposed to imperialism in any form. Some are for high tariff and others for low tariff, but the one thing upon which all are united is the overthrow of the saloon, and it has come to be the accepted plan of the party that no position will be taken by the party on other questions that will serve to divide it on its main issue. Hence, it is certain that it will present a united front throughout the campaign of 1900.

For many years the two leading papers of the Prohibition party were the *Voice of New York* and the *Lever of Chicago*. Early in 1899 the *Lever* was purchased by Samuel Dickie of Albion, Mich., at that time chairman of the National Committee, and John G. Woolley of Chicago, the best known Prohibition advocate in the world. In a few months these gentlemen purchased the *New Voice* and combined the two papers into one, which they now publish in Chicago. In the Prohibition party there is a large number of state and local papers which are ably edited and greatly strengthen the party, but the *New York Voice* is regarded by all as the greatest Prohibition journal.

Last December the National Committee met at the Palmer House in the city of Chicago and decided upon a call for the next National Convention, naming Chicago as the place and June 27 and 28 as the dates. Samuel Dickie offered his resignation as National Chairman, which he asked to have accepted on the ground that he was so busy in connection with his new editorial duties that he felt the need of relief from service as National Chairman. The resignation was accepted and Oliver W. Stewart of Chicago, chairman of the Illinois committee, was elected to succeed him. Calls for state conventions were rapidly issued and these conventions have been uniformly well attended. Large campaign funds have been raised by the different state committees and the National Committee has received voluntary contributions through the mails to the ex-

tent of \$15,000, and it is certain that this amount will be more than doubled during the campaign.

Indiana Prohibitionists have developed what is known as the "Indiana plan." It is to have an evangelist or organizer appointed for every Congressional district. These organizers make a house to house canvass in the district, raising funds for the committee, soliciting subscriptions for the Prohibition papers and assisting in the organization of the counties and precincts. The theory is—and practice proves it to be correct—that a congressional district will easily support a man while he gives his entire time to the work. Many other states are pursuing a similar plan with the results that many clubs are being organized and subscriptions to Prohibition papers are increasing as never before.

In 1897 and 1898 Dr. S. C. Swallow of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, led in the fight in that state against Senator Quay and his methods. In the first campaign Dr. Swallow was candidate for State Treasurer on the Prohibition ticket, and in the second for Governor. In each campaign he polled over 100,000 votes, thus bringing himself into national prominence and proving that the Prohibition party is a force in American politics that must be considered. Not a little credit for the defeat of Senator Quay belongs to Dr. Swallow and those who assisted him in the fight.

Henry B. Metcalf, who was the candidate for governor of Rhode Island at the election last spring, polled an increased vote. Mr. Metcalf is one of the well known citizens of Rhode Island and is a strength to the cause in New England. In Oregon the party made thorough preparation for the election which was held on the 4th of June, 1900. National Chairman Stewart made a short trip through the state, and John G. Woolley spent thirty days there. Local workers covered all parts of the state and the result was a large increase in the vote on election day. Space will not permit mention of the individual workers or of what has been done in California, Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa and other states in the East and West.

At the beginning of the year there were several states without organization. Since that time the party has been organized in Utah and has as its candidate Jacob S. Boreman of Ogden, who was once on the Supreme Bench of Utah. Wyoming has also been organized and has a ticket in the field, and even the territory of Arizona now has a working organization with Dr. John W. Thomas of Phenix, as chairman. There

will be a ticket in the field in every state, and the indications are that with scarcely an exception each state will show the result of the hard work done.

There has been an unmistakable change in the spirit of the Prohibition press and Prohibition orators. The concessions by the other parties to the Prohibitionists of a place in American politics, and the disposition to give them fair hearing has taken away some of the sarcasm which in other years has been a part of the equipment of the press and speakers. These are still characterized by plainness of speech, but it is a plainness of speech that has in it also the utmost of respect to those who may differ from the Prohibitionists. After years of hard and patient effort the Prohibition party has won a place in American politics that has never before been held by a minority party.

The National Prohibition Convention for 1900 was held in the First Regiment Armory, Chicago, Ill., on Wednesday and Thursday, June 27th and 28th.

As early as Tuesday morning the delegates from other states began to arrive. In twos and threes, in tens and dozens, by the car-load and by the train-load they came, until Tuesday night the Prohibitionists "owned the town." Their badges were to be seen everywhere in the streets, and their delegates were the prevailing majority in the crowds in all the hotel lobbies, and the most indifferent of Chicago people discovered the Prohibition party. Tuesday night delegates from a score of states were present at the great Illinois mass meeting and also helped to fill the First Methodist church, where the Oratorical Contest of the Intercollegiate Association was held.

Wednesday morning, with one of the best bands of the city to lead the procession and with a long line of specially honored guests in carriages, some hundreds of delegates marched down the long avenues of Chicago from the Palmer House to the Convention Hall, to find it already packed almost to the doors with delegates and visitors. Seats had been prepared in the center of the hall in front for nearly a thousand delegates, while close upon either side of the platform, which projected into the seating space of the hall, there were seats for as many more alternates. Behind the bar, which cut off the space allotted to the members of the convention, there were again seats for perhaps 1,500 visitors, while two galleries, surrounding the whole great drill floor, which had

been transformed into an auditorium for the convention, furnished seats for not less than 1,500 more visitors.

There were exciting moments as the Convention gathered. When Pennsylvania marched in with lithographs of the Fighting Parson, the crowd cheered enthusiastically; and when the New Englanders came, the Bay State in the lead, with a huge standard on the top of which was raised a reversed canteen, the enthusiasm bounded up a hundred degrees, and men from chairs and tables waved their hats and cheered, until the looker-on would have supposed that it was the last event of the day instead of the opening round.

Then, as leader after leader came in, his friends among the hundreds who watched in the galleries would catch sight of him and a ripple of applause would go round. So the gathering crowd kept stirring until, at 10 o'clock, Chairman Stewart came forward upon the platform and taking the gavel called the Convention to order. After a few opening remarks Mr. Stewart called upon Rev. J. Wesley Maxwell to lead in prayer. John H. Hill of Chicago was next introduced for an address of welcome, after which the National Committee nominations for temporary officers of the Convention were presented by Chairman Stewart and adopted by the Convention. They were as follows:

For temporary chairman, Samuel Dickie of Michigan; for temporary secretary, Alonzo E. Wilson of Illinois. Mr. Dickie was introduced to the Convention and made a ringing address. At the conclusion of his address the roll of states was called for members of the Convention Committees. An adjournment was then taken until 2:30 in the afternoon.

When the Convention reassembled in the afternoon addresses were heard by representatives of the Young People's Prohibition League and the roll of states was called for members of the National Committee. The Convention then adjourned until evening. During the recess of the Convention, the National Committee met and organized as follows: Chairman, Oliver W. Stewart of Chicago, Ill.; Vice-Chairman, Samuel Dickie of Albion, Michigan; Secretary Wm. T. Wardwell, New York City; Treasurer, Samuel D. Hastings, Green Bay, Wisconsin. Additional members of the Executive Committee were selected as follows: James A. Tate, Dyer, Tenn.; T. R. Carskadon, Keyser, W. Va.; A. A. Stevens, Tyrone, Pa.; L. W. Elliott, Stockton, Cala.; H. P. Faris, Clinton, Mo.

At the evening session addresses were made by representatives of the Young People's Prohibition League, by Dr. Charles Crane of Boston, Clinton N. Howard of Rochester, N. Y., and Mrs. John Bidwell of Chico, California. Before the close of the evening session the Committee on Resolutions brought forward the National Platform, which was adopted. It is as follows:

NATIONAL PROHIBITION PLATFORM, 1900.

Preamble.

The National Prohibition Party, in Convention represented, at Chicago, June 27 and 28, 1900, acknowledge Almighty God as the Supreme Source of all just government. Realizing that this republic was founded upon Christian principles and can endure only as it embodies justice and righteousness, and asserting that all authority should seek the best good of all the governed, to this end wisely prohibiting what is wrong and permitting only what is right, hereby records and proclaims:

DEFINITION OF PARTY AND ARRAIGNMENT OF PARTIES.

1. We accept and assert the definition given by Edmund Burke, that "a party is a body of men joined together for the purpose of promoting, by their joint endeavor, the national interest upon some particular principle upon which they are all agreed." We declare that there is no principle now advocated, by any other party, which could be made a fact in government with such beneficent moral and material results as the principle of Prohibition, applied to the beverage liquor traffic; that the national interest could be promoted in no other way so surely and widely as by its adoption and assertion through a national policy, and the co-operation therein of every state, forbidding the manufacture, sale, exportation, importation and transportation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes; that we stand for this as the only principle, proposed by any party anywhere, for the settlement of a question greater and graver than any other before the American people, and involving more profoundly than any other their moral future, and financial welfare; and that all the patriotic citizenship of this country, agreed upon this principle, however much disagreement there may be as to minor considerations and issues, should stand together at the ballot-box, from this time forward, until Prohibition is the established policy of the

United States, with a party in power to enforce it and to insure its moral and material benefits.

We insist that such a party, agreed upon this principle and policy, having sober leadership, without any obligation for success to the saloon vote and to those demoralizing political combinations of men and money now allied therewith and suppliant thereto, could successfully cope with all other and lesser problems of government in legislative halls and in the executive chair, and that it is useless for any party to make declarations in its platform as to any questions concerning which there may be serious differences of opinion in its own membership, and as to which, because of such differences, the party could legislate only on a basis of mutual concessions when coming into power.

We submit that the Democratic and Republican parties are alike insincere in their assumed hostility to trusts and monopolies. They dare not and do not attack the most dangerous of them all, the liquor power. So long as the saloon debauches the citizen and breeds the purchasable voter, money will continue to buy its way to power. Break down this traffic, elevate manhood, and a sober citizenship will find a way to control dangerous combinations of capital.

We propose as a first step in the financial problems of the nation to save more than a million of dollars every year, now annually expended to support the liquor traffic and to demoralize our people. When that is accomplished, conditions will have so improved that with a clearer atmosphere the country can address itself to the questions as to the kind and quantity of currency needed.

THE ISSUE PRESENTED.

2. We reaffirm as true indisputably the declaration of William Windom when Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of President Arthur, that "Considered socially, financially, politically or morally, the licensed liquor traffic is or ought to be the overwhelming issue in American politics," and that "the destruction of this iniquity stands next on the calendar of the world's progress." We hold that the existence of our party presents this issue squarely to the American people, and lays upon them the responsibility of choice between liquor parties, dominated by distillers and brewers, with their policy of saloon perpetuation, breeding waste, wickedness, woe, pauperism, taxation, corruption and crime, and our one party of patriotic and moral principle, with a policy

which defends it from domination by corrupt bosses and which insures it forever against the blighting control of saloon politics.

We face with sorrow, shame and fear, the awful fact that this liquor traffic has a grip on our Government, municipal, state and national, through the revenue system and saloon sovereignty, which no other party dares to dispute; a grip which dominates the party now in power, from caucus to Congress, from policeman to President, from the rum-shop to the White House; a grip which compels the chief executive to consent that law shall be nullified in behalf of the brewer, that the canteen shall curse our army and spread intemperance across the seas, and that our flag shall wave as the symbol of partnership, at home and abroad, between this government and the men who defy and defile it for their unholy gain.

THE PRESIDENT ARRAIGNED.

3. We charge upon President McKinley, who was elected to his high office by appeals to Christian sentiment and patriotism almost unprecedented and by a combination of moral influences never before seen in this country, that, by his conspicuous example as a wine-drinker at public banquets and as a wine-serving host in the White House, he has done more to encourage the liquor business, to demoralize the temperance habits of young men, and to bring Christian practices and requirements into disrepute than any other President this republic has ever had. We further charge upon President McKinley responsibility for the army canteen, with all its dire brood of disease, immorality, sin and death, in this country, in Cuba, in Porto Rico and the Philippines; and we insist that by his attitude concerning the canteen, and his apparent contempt for the vast number of petitions and petitioners protesting against it, he has outraged and insulted the moral sentiment of this country in such a manner and to such a degree as calls for its righteous uprising and his indignant and effective rebuke.

We challenge denial of the fact that our chief executive, as commander in chief of the military forces of the United States, at any time prior to or since March 2, 1899, could have closed every army saloon, called a canteen, by executive order, as President Hayes in effect did before him, and should have closed them for the same reasons which actuated President Hayes; we assert that the act of Congress, passed March 2, 1899, forbidding the sale of liquor, "in any post-exchange or

canteen," by any "officer or private soldier" or by "any other person on any premises used for military purposes in the United States," was and is as explicit an act of Prohibition as the English language can frame; we declare our solemn belief that the Attorney-General of the United States in his interpretation of that law, and the Secretary of War in his acceptance of that interpretation and his refusal to enforce the law, were and are guilty of treasonable nullification thereof, and that President McKinley, through his assent to and endorsement of such interpretation and refusal, on the part of officials appointed by and responsible to him, shares responsibility in their guilt; and we record our conviction that a new and serious peril confronts our country, in the fact that its President, at the behest of the beer power, dare and does abrogate a law of Congress, through subordinates removable at will by him and whose acts become his, and thus virtually confesses that laws are to be administered or to be nullified in the interest of a law-defying business, by an administration under mortgage to such business for support.

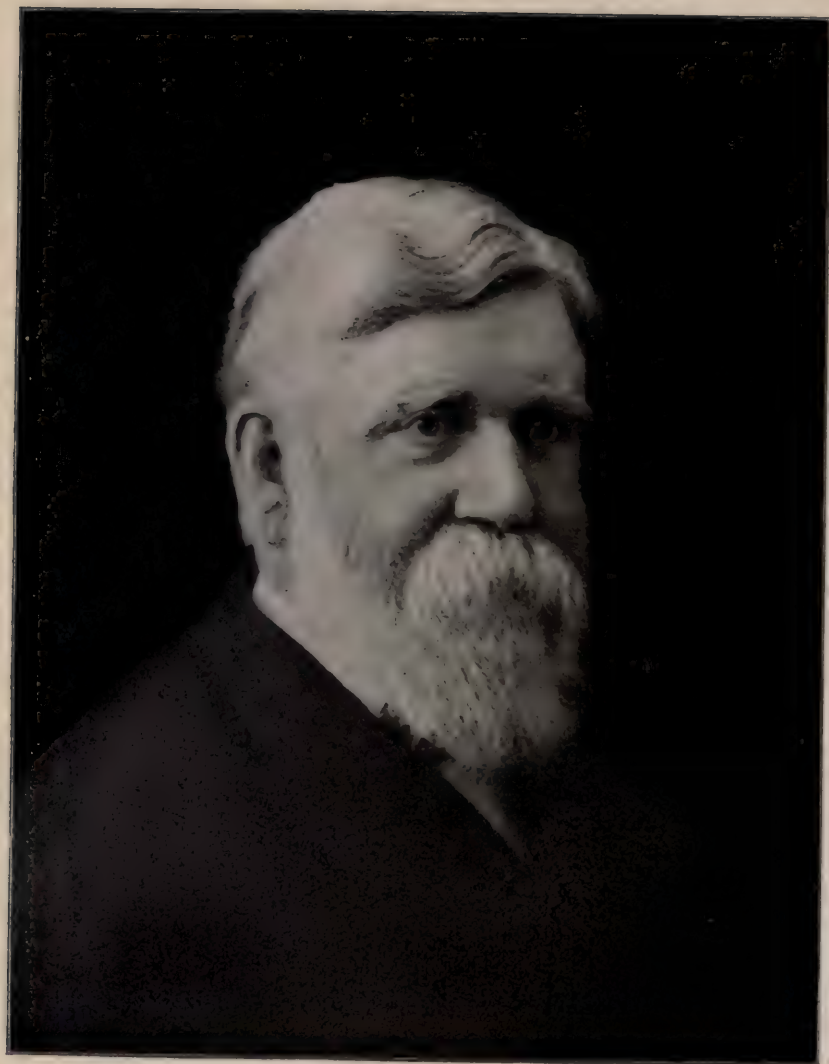
FOREIGN LIQUOR POLICY CONDEMNED.

4. We deplore the fact that an administration of this republic claiming the right and power to carry our flag across seas, and to conquer and annex new territory, should admit its lack of power to prohibit the American saloon on subjugated soil, or should openly confess itself subject to liquor sovereignty under that flag. We are humiliated, exasperated and grieved, by the evidence painfully abundant, that this administration's policy of expansion is bearing so rapidly its first fruits of drunkenness, insanity and crime under the hot-house sun of the tropics; and when the President of the first Philippine commission says, "It was unfortunate that we introduced and established the saloon there, to corrupt the natives and to exhibit the vices of our race," we charge the inhumanity and unchristianity of this act upon the administration of William McKinley and upon the party which elected and would perpetuate the same.

5. We declare that the only policy which the government of the United States can of right uphold as to the liquor traffic, under the national constitution, upon any territory under the military or civil control of that government, is the policy of Prohibition; that "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to our-



JOHN G. WOOLLEY
CHICAGO



HENRY B. METCALF

selves and our posterity," as the constitution provides, the liquor traffic must neither be sanctioned nor tolerated, and that the revenue policy, which makes our government a partner with distillers and brewers and bar-keepers, is a disgrace to our civilization, an outrage upon humanity, and a crime against God.

We condemn the present administration at Washington because it has repealed the prohibitory laws in Alaska, and has given over the partly civilized tribes there to be the prey of the American grog-shop; and because it has entered upon a license policy in our new possessions by incorporating the same in the recent act of Congress in the code of laws for the government of the Hawaiian Islands.

We call general attention to the fearful fact that exportation of liquors from the United States to the Philippine Islands increased from \$337 in 1898 to \$467,198 in the first ten months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900; and that while our exportation of liquors to Cuba never reached \$30,000 a year, previous to American occupation of that island, our exports of such liquors to Cuba, during the fiscal year of 1899, reached the sum of \$629,855.

CALL TO MORAL AND CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP.

6. One great religious body (the Baptist) having truly declared of the liquor traffic "that it has no defensible right to exist, that it can never be reformed, and that it stands condemned by its unrighteous fruits as a thing un-Christian, un-American, and perilous utterly to every interest in life;" another great religious body (the Methodist) having as truly asserted and reiterated that "no political party has a right to expect, nor should receive, the votes of Christian men so long as it stands committed to the license system, or refuses to put itself on record in an attitude of open hostility to the saloon;" other great religious bodies having made similar deliverances, in language plain and unequivocal, as to the liquor traffic and the duty of Christian citizenship in opposition thereto; and the fact being plain and undeniable that the Democratic party stands for license, the saloon, and the canteen, while the Republican party, in policy and administration, stands for the canteen, the saloon and revenue therefrom, we declare ourselves justified in expecting that Christian voters everywhere shall cease their complicity with the liquor curse by refusing to uphold a liquor party, and shall unite themselves with the only party which upholds the Prohibi-

tion policy, and which for nearly thirty years has been the faithful defender of the church, the state, the home and the school, against the saloon, its expanders and perpetuators, their actual and persistent foes.

We insist that no differences of belief, as to any other question or concern of government, should stand in the way of such a union of moral and Christian citizenship as we hereby invite, for the speedy settlement of this paramount moral, industrial, financial, and political issue, which our party presents; and we refrain from declaring ourselves upon all minor matters, as to which differences of opinion may exist, that hereby we may offer to the American people a platform so broad that all can stand upon it who desire to see sober citizenship actually sovereign over the allied hosts of evil, sin and crime, in a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We declare that there are but two real parties, to-day, concerning the liquor traffic—perpetuationists and Prohibitionists; and that patriotism, Christianity, and every interest of genuine and of pure democracy, besides the loyal demands of our common humanity, require the speedy union, in one solid phalanx at the ballot box, of all who oppose the liquor traffic's perpetuation, and who covet endurance for this republic.

Thursday morning the Convention proceeded to the nomination of candidates. The name of John G. Woolley of Chicago was presented by Oliver W. Stewart of the same city. Mr. Stewart said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention: The Republican party has renominated the one man in the United States who is responsible for the army canteen, the one man in the United States who is responsible for the imperial expansion of the liquor traffic, the one man in the United States who, during the last year, probably has made more votes for the Prohibition party than any other man in America. [Applause.]

The Democratic party will meet next week at Kansas City to name as its standard bearer one who, while he pretends to be the foe of trusts and combinations of wealth, aggregated for unholy purposes, dares not speak a word against the liquor trust, a monopoly that furnishes the corrupt and purchasable votes by which these unholy combinations entrench themselves in power.

During this campaign the issue will be joined between these two political parties, and, with hands red with the blood of the victims of the saloon and the army canteen, these two political parties will stretch

out those hands entreating for the support of the decent citizens of America. In such a campaign as that, we, the Prohibitionists, will hold true to our course and will poll the largest vote in the party's history. [Cheers.]

One of the marvels of American politics is the tremendous hold the Prohibition party has upon life. We have seen minority parties rise and fall. We have seen our vote increase and decrease, with seemingly no chance of immediate victory, with no possibility of the election of a governor, with now and then but a member of the legislature, elected on our ticket; yet the Prohibition party continues to exist and it meets here to-day with determination unequalled, with spirit undaunted, with hope unquenched, and in the knowledge that with the practice of perseverance and faithfulness we have made ours not only the most remarkable minority party in the history of this country, but we have also made it politically respectable. [Applause.]

The reason for this is not difficult to find. The party has had ever within it, as a vitalizing force, a mighty moral principle, believing that it is possible, whenever this nation so desires, to prohibit the liquor traffic. Yet our fundamental proposition has been that, whether we can ever prohibit it, at least we owe it to ourselves to go out of partnership with that awful iniquity. To this proposition we have clung through discouragements and misfortunes that would have overwhelmed a party with a purpose less high and noble. But that alone, ladies and gentlemen, would not have been sufficient to keep us in the field as an organization. Our safety has depended also upon the spirit in the party that has turned ever away from the rock of fusion upon which minority parties have so frequently been wrecked. Had we been willing in the past to trade our votes for paltry offices, or put up our principles for sale, for the sake of increasing the chances of success for our candidates, we would long ago have disappeared from the arena of national politics, and would have deserved to disappear. Our continued safety depends upon our remaining true to our high principles and in our being brave enough to stand by those principles until we win humanity to them, even if we do not elect a candidate in the next century.

It is for us this hour to bear in mind our duty to the thousands at home and the cause for which we stand. We have reached the most important moment in this convention. A mistake now would be little short of fatal. Our platform adopted by this convention is one upon which

all can stand unitedly in the battle against the liquor traffic. [Applause.] The West accepted a platform four years ago in good faith, though it seemed to bring discouragement and demoralization, but the heart of the West was true and she will accept the platform adopted in this convention with equal good faith and go out to battle upon it. But they feel in many quarters that we need a candidate with whom we are personally acquainted, they feel that we need a candidate with whom they are personally in touch. But that does not mean that the West will not rally to any candidate East or West or North or South. [Applause.]

Illinois, my native state, has an embarrassment of riches. Two men from within the borders of our state have been repeatedly named for this, the highest honor that this convention can confer. The demand for those men, ladies and gentlemen, did not originate in Illinois, though we would be proud to originate such a demand. It started outside of this state. I think we have done the graceful thing in recognizing that demand, and Illinois stands here to-day to say that she will be equally satisfied if the choice should fall to either of her sons who will be named here to-day. And it is her purpose to divide her votes between them, to leave the other states to say whether either of them is satisfactory as a candidate for the Prohibition party. There is no rivalry within the borders of our state. We are a unit with reference to this.

But I would name one of her sons, one who has left his sword marks wherever the head of the liquor traffic has shown itself. I come briefly to tell you why this convention should honor itself, why it should thrill thousands of homes with the blessed news that we have nominated humanity's friend, the saloon's most determined enemy, our matchless lawyer and leader, John G. Woolley. [Applause and prolonged cheers.] And let me add, ladies and gentlemen, at this very moment, that I have no disposition and desire, and I shall plead that by no possibility any influence that I may have at this moment as chairman of the national committee that I could not have in any other way should be thrown for any man for whom I stand. Let me plead that if there is a man in this house who, because I happen to be the chairman of the national committee, might be influenced to vote for one whom I should name, who would not vote for that one if I were not chairman of that committee and named that man, I plead with him, do not be false to yourself by yielding to that. [Applause.] I only ask that I be heard as a delegate from my own state of Illinois, one who pleads for one he loves, who

comes to present the name of a man who lives within my state, who lives within my city, who lives within my congressional district, who is almost a next door neighbor of mine.

I have no word to say touching the other candidates in this convention, other than this, that I can loyally fall in behind either Hale Johnson of Illinois, or Dr. Swallow of Pennsylvania. [Applause.] And if the choice of this convention falls to either of those men he cannot have a more loyal supporter than I will be. But if the question should be raised for a moment as touching the propriety of my speaking, who am chairman of your national committee—and I cannot believe there is a man in this house who would forbid that I, as a delegate from Illinois, should speak for a brother and a friend whom I love and who, I believe, is a little dearer to me than almost any other man in this world—but if that should be the case, is there in this house one man who would deny to John G. Woolley, after his years of toil and loyal service, the right to have his name mentioned by any man in the Prohibition party? [Applause.] I speak for him at the request of himself and his friends, and plead again that my words carry no more weight than the fact that I am a delegate from the state of Illinois who presents his name to you now.

The party should select a well-known man, one whose name is familiar in every newspaper office in the United States. Our nominee should also be one, of course, who would be able to discharge the duties of this office if he were called to it. He should be a statesman acquainted with all public questions, one with a firm grasp of popular questions, a man fully as familiar with every section of the country as with the Prohibition issue. This favored son of Illinois is such a man. While he has made his fight constantly on the saloon, scores of members in this convention who have come close to him and sounded him on other questions have found in him a source of inexhaustible information, showing a man well trained and disciplined to all public questions. I have talked with people from one ocean to the other, and I believe that all will agree that I sound the voice of the party unitedly when I say, this year we need the greatest campaigner of any party upon the platform adopted. [Cheers.]

A gentleman from New York said only last night: "This is to be a campaign of mighty speakers." The Republican party will have their candidate for Vice-President upon the stump. The Democratic party will put perhaps the greatest campaigner of the United States before the

people. We must have a man, if we know who he is, abler than any other to stand upon the platform and meet these men, advocating the principles for which we stand. We want no tame campaign this year, if we are to poll the increased vote that the party should have. We must have a leader, able to control their thought and their attention. This is no time for us to try experiments. We must not strive for an increased vote save as we bring men to the proposition for which we stand unitedly. The chief concern of him whom I name has ever been to build up the Prohibition party upon the proposition that the saloon ought to die and that it ought to die quickly. I say what came from the lips of hundreds of you last night as you listened to the thunders of that mighty platform that we adopted last night, when we heard men say one after another, that platform calls for a man who will match it, to the last word of it, before the people. [Applause.]

I ask your judgment upon this point as we pass upon the question of availability. Why, friends, it is simply a mighty conference of a party that could have two hundred able men to choose from, as well as three. It is but a question now of our making a selection that will best suit our purpose in this immediate campaign.

I ask you to remember, too, that this one whom I name has been a mighty leader upon our platform. I ask if you remember that there are thousands who will listen today to know whether the Prohibition party is willing to trust its standard in his hands. He is not responsible for this singular condition of affairs, but I do think that we ought to ourselves consider that and to weigh it well as we offer our votes for the candidate who may be presented to us.

While I present his name on behalf of his friends from Illinois, we recognize the fact that he does not belong to our state alone. He belongs to the mighty Union. It is true that in Illinois he lives; it is true that here is the home over which his wife, sweet Mary Woolley, presides. It is in this home that his three stalwart, manly boys live, every one of them as clean and pure as the boys of any of you who sit before me today. It is in this city that the two who are of voting age will walk to the ballot box by the side of their father and cast their ballot for any man you name in this convention. It is true that in the soil of Illinois his parents sleep. I wish I knew that that mother of his who went to heaven not knowing that, by the grace of God, he was yet to be saved and redeemed and started to work to obliterate the liquor traffic in America—I wish I

knew that she were looking down from heaven upon us. I wish I knew that she were cognizant of the fact that in the hearts of hundreds of you now there was the determination that her boy, so saved, should carry the standard in this fight against the liquor traffic that nearly ruined his life. Perhaps she knows and her spirit is with us.

I have heard it said that John G. Woolley is the John the Baptist, that he must not expect a nomination, that he must take the reward of John the Baptist. I tell you if he must take that reward, that Oliver W. Stewart will stand on any platform where he can get his feet to advocate to the last that we shall not turn our backs upon him while the world beheads him. [Applause.] I am for standing for a man who stands by our cause, and fifty years from now when the history is written of how the liquor traffic died in America, the historian will have to put in his history a paragraph somewhere reading like this: "The truest, bravest voice that was heard in all the world in the latter part of the nineteenth century was the voice of John G. Woolley."

Put his name at the head of our ticket, and assure us of the tremendously energetic campaign that we will have.

I do not stop to consider the effect upon him personally. I have never done so. I suppose it will cost any man much to accept your nomination, and if there is any man whom it will not cost much, that man is unfit to receive it. It will cost him as much, I suppose, as it will any other man who may be named here. I am thinking not alone of men—men are nothing, principles are everything. [Applause.] All that I desire is that we have the campaigner upon our platform that will carry the truth before the American people. John G. Woolley can and will draw the fire of the enemy, and I want him to do it. If he cannot stand the fire of the enemy—if we cannot stand it—then I say we ought to disband and retire from the field until we are ready. Give us him as our leader. Place upon your ticket that leader tried and true—John G. Woolley of every state. [Applause and three cheers for Woolley.]

Mr. Geo. W. Gere of Champaign, Ill., presented the name of Hale Johnson of Newton, Ill., and Homer Castle of Pittsburg, Pa., presented the name of Dr. S. C. Swallow of Harrisburg, Pa. After many speeches by representatives of different states seconding the nominations, the first ballot was taken, which resulted in the nomination of John G. Woolley, who received 380 votes, as against 320 for Dr. Swallow, Hale Johnson having withdrawn just before the ballot was taken. The an-

nouncement of the result was received with tremendous applause, and was followed by a motion to suspend the rules and nominate Dr. Swallow for Vice-President by acclamation. Word was received, however, from Dr. Swallow that he could not accept second place on the ticket. Nominations were then in order for Vice-President and the first ballot resulted in 349 votes for Henry B. Metcalf of Pawtucket, R. I., 130 votes for T. R. Carskadon of Keyser, W. Va., and 113 for Dr. E. L. Eaton of Des Moines, Ia. The nomination of Mr. Metcalf was made unanimous, and with the passage of the usual resolutions of thanks the convention adjourned.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOHN G. WOOLLEY.

The Hon. John G. Woolley, peerless orator, great statesman, genuine patriot, Prohibition's foremost worker and its most popular agitator! A hero brave in heart and lofty in purpose! Much has been written of his life, his success, his fall through drink, his conversion, his devotion to the cause, all of which reads like an exciting story. But in this sketch we wish to bring to the public facts about his life that have never been published.

His father's family were among the early settlers of this country, Emanuel Woolley coming from England in 1653, and settling in Newport, R. I. His grandson, John, settled in Monmouth county, New Jersey, and it was his descendant, William, who was one of the first settlers of Cincinnati, Ohio. His son, Edwin C., was born here, graduated at Ohio Medical College and Miami Medical College. He was a reformer and early abolitionist. Married Elizabeth Hunter, from one of the oldest and respected families of Butler county, a woman of extraordinary gifts, of Scotch-Irish descent, and whatever of poetry, grace and pathos of speech John G. Woolley has comes from his mother. At Collinsville, Ohio, the only son of Edwin and Elizabeth Woolley was born. Early in the 60's his father moved to Illinois, and at the age of seventeen young Woolley held the position of head master in the public schools.

John G. Woolley graduated from the Ohio Wesleyan College in 1871, went abroad and on his return entered the law department of the University of Michigan. He was admitted to the bar in 1873 in the Supreme Court of Illinois, where the chief justice pronounced his examination the most brilliant of all he had known. After practicing four years in Illinois, he removed to Minneapolis, where he entered Supreme Court

practice and became state's attorney and the leading lawyer in all criminal cases. He was called to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1885. At the expiration of his term of office as state's attorney he was drawn into criminal practice exclusively. Up to that time he had been engaged in civil practice and had conducted to a successful issue the most important commercial litigation in the Northwest, in which, as a representative of a syndicate of New York merchants, he attacked a transfer of property on the ground of fraud, and by one argument recovered \$2,000,000 for his clients. He is said to have received the highest fees of any lawyer in Minnesota, having once been paid \$500 in gold for a speech of five minutes in a successful plea for mercy for a convicted criminal.

In 1888 Mr. Woolley was offered by Gen. Fisk and others associated with him, a large salary to take up the practice of his profession in New York City and have charge of certain corporate interests, but declined in order to become an agitator, without any assured salary, and has since that time declined bona fide offers of \$25,000 a year to re-enter legal practice. While he has abandoned his profession forever, he has kept up his social relations with the distinguished members of the bar, among whom he numbers his warmest friends; some are yet unreconciled to his giving up a career which gave so great promise.

In 1873 Mr. Woolley was married to Mary Veronica, daughter of Dr. M. Gerhardt of Philadelphia, and later of Delaware, Ohio, by whom he has three sons. All are gifted, manly fellows. They have had extensive travel, and have resided in all the largest cities, and consequently show progress far beyond their years. Mrs. Woolley takes entire charge of her husband's business and correspondence, making all his engagements, and yet finds time to keep in perfect touch with the life of her sons and of the great university. The whole family is very musical. Portions of their evenings are devoted to reading aloud the current books and playing over in studious ways works of the masters in music.

From the first Mr. Woolley has declined to be under anybody's management, or to be held by any society, church or political party, or to issue circulars or lithographs. He maintains that the only hope of the country is the church, and has been its constant champion and its fearless critic. He believes that there is great hope of the church being equal to the situation and compelling and deserving the admiration of the world. He has been repeatedly denounced as a maligner of the

church, but such statements must have come from people who were utterly ignorant of his spirit and his work. He has been the subject of extravagant praise and blame, but has been unchanged by either, and is pained especially by the former.

Mr. Woolley never thought himself an orator and has laughed at the comparison of himself with Gough, whom he in no wise resembles. He is of a distinctly retiring disposition, of an almost diffident turn—not averse to conversation, but not at all ready in that way. When he speaks on his chosen theme he does so with all the intensity of his being—his whole soul is in every word. When once asked his power, he answered: "If I have any power it is because I go before an audience just as I would go before a jury, caring not a fig what the judge might think, but knowing there was one man on the jury I had to win, and exerting all the energy I possessed to win that one man." He never gave up anything—he never feared anything. One friend in speaking of him says: "He has the exegetical genius of an F. W. Robertson, the scholarly style of a Sumner, the statesmanlike instinct of a Gladstone, and the self-poise and fearless delivery of a Wendell Phillips."

In platform work Mr. Woolley stands unrivaled and unique. At the great meetings of the Y. P. S. C. E. conventions he is easily the favorite speaker, and has addressed larger audiences upon his favorite theme than any other speaker. In Minneapolis he spoke for one hundred consecutive nights; in New Haven thirty nights, and has spoken sixty times in Boston. In England, Scotland and Wales he was most cordially accepted. Everywhere he made marked and lasting impressions and is constantly importuned to repeat his visits.

Although in his public addresses there is an absolute absence of oratorical effect or art, yet it is doubtful if the words of any public speaker fasten themselves as do his upon the memory. It is impossible to forget what he says. When he and Dr. Frank Gunsaulus met after twenty-five years, the doctor repeated the peroration of Woolley's graduation speech. A Southern woman said recently that he was the most quoted man in the Southern press. The late Mary T. Lathrop wrote of him: "I have been looking into the mists and dark, and listening for prophetic voices of those who have 'the vision, and I have heard his.'"

During their lives John G. Whittier and Phillips Brooks were warm friends of Mr. Woolley, and one of the interesting things in his house are the autograph letters of great men and women who were personal friends.

The Royal Society for the Study of Inebriety, of which Dr. Norman Kerr is President, has invited Mr. Woolley to accept a reception in his honor at the society rooms in London and address the members. When in Edinburgh he was given a dinner by the theological students of the university, and has been invited to return.

In a recent number of a leading magazine was the following tribute to this wonderful man:

The life of John G. Woolley reads like a modern exposition of the Apostle's creed. There was the first birth in natural innocence, the suffering under the Pontius Pilate of sinful appetite, and the descent into the hell of a burned out life; then came the glad rising into a newness of thought and power, the glorious ascension to fellowship with God and man, the communion with the saints and martyrs of all ages, a forgiveness of sins which carried with it the blotting out of the old, and a resurrection of the body into a life in which it became henceforth a "temple of the Holy Ghost." The days of miracles are not yet passed, and this man with tongue of fire, called of God as truly as was ever prophet of old, is a living proof of the fact. His work is just begun, but its outcome is destined to affect the future as has the work of but few men.

HENRY B. METCALF.

Henry Brewer Metcalf, the Prohibition nominee for Vice-President, was born in Boston, April 2, 1829. He was educated at the English High School in his native city. In 1856 he went to Roxbury, where he remained for eight years, very active in political work, although not a candidate for office.

In 1864 he moved to Winchester and became very active in politics as a working Republican, except in the Greeley campaign. In 1870 he moved to Pawtucket, R. I. Two years later he helped to reorganize the town government after some important annexations. In 1885 he was elected to the State Senate, and was nominated for re-election, but was defeated by liquor men and their sympathizers whom he had always vigorously opposed.

At fifteen years of age he was apprenticed to a dry goods importing and jobbing firm in Boston, and through that channel he became interested in manufacturing, to which, since 1872, he has given his entire attention. He has held official positions in several manufacturing cor-

porations, and is now President of the Providence County Savings Bank, of Pawtucket. For twenty years he was trustee of Tufts College, and is at present Vice-President of the corporation.

Mr. Metcalf has been a life-long Universalist, and since 1891 he has been President of the national organization of that denomination. For more than sixty continuous years he has attended Sunday school, and for over thirty years he has been a Sunday-school superintendent.

All his life Mr. Metcalf has been a temperance man. He was one of the leaders in the Republican "anti-saloon movement" of the Law Enforcement party of Rhode Island in 1889, and of the Union party in 1890. For many years he was President of the Rhode Island Temperance Union, and in that capacity very active in the prohibition-amendment campaign of 1886.

A Whig up to 1860, in that year he became a Republican. In 1888 he left the Republican party and called himself an Independent. In 1890 he joined the Prohibition party. In 1893 the Prohibitionists of Rhode Island nominated him for Governor. In 1894 he was again named as a gubernatorial candidate.

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